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Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK denotes ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

MAR

- 21-28 World Youth Week celebrated by World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY: Communist front).
- 25* Treaties creating European Economic Community (EEC) and European Community of Atomic Energy (Euratom) signed in Rome by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. 1957. TENTH ANNIVERSARY.
- 27* Khrushchev succeeds Bulganin as Premier of USSR. 1957.
- 27-5 International Union of Students Congress at Ulan Bator, Mongolia. (IUS: Soviet-line Communist front)
- 29 Martyrs' Day and Youth Day. (Communist China)

APR

- 1* Berlin Blockade begins. In 15 months, US and Britain airlift 2.34 million tons of vital supplies to city. (Blockade lifted by Soviets, 12 May 1949) 1948.
- 4* North Atlantic Treaty signed, including US, Canada and 10 West European countries. 1949.
- 16* USSR and Germany sign Treaty of Rapallo; secret military accord enables Germany to evade Treaty of Versailles by training men and testing and building weapons in USSR. 1922. FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.
- 17* Lenin delivers "April Theses" in first public appearance after return to Russia. 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 18-27* First Bandung Conference: 29 Afro-Asian countries participate. 1955.
- 24 World Youth Day Against Colonialism and For Peaceful Coexistence. Celebrated by WFDY and IUS. (Communist fronts)
- 26* 19 Foreign Ministers meet at Geneva on Indochina; 21 July, agree on armistice effective 11 August. Vietnam partitioned, Laos and Cambodia recognized as neutral. 1954.
- 28 "Expo 67" opens in Montreal with Bloc participation.

MAY

- 1 May Day -- International Workers' Day. First designated by Second International (Socialist Congress) in 1889.
- 7* V-E Day, end of World War II. 1945.
- 15* Third International declared dissolved by Soviets; 1943. Announcement on 22 May 1943 declares other Communist Parties to be autonomous.

Briefly Noted

30 January 1967

*"The Chinese
Red Guards
Don't Know
Lenin"*

Communist Writings
Which Communists
Can't Read

TASS on Nov. 19 announced that a delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society headed by PRAVDA observer V. Mayevsky had been forced to cut short its tour of China by Chinese provocations and insulting, hostile attacks as reported in our Propagandist's Guide to WCA, #8. IZVESTIYA on the 22nd carries the text of a long statement by M. to a press conference on the 21st. Exploring the senseless "great-Khan chauvinism and anti-Sovietism" in Red Guard actions to eradicate foreign culture, M. says:

"...The major part of the CR Committee at the University have been educated in the humanities: they are philosophers, lawyers, etc.... All of them call themselves M-Ls. Nevertheless, during the sharp discussion, it became evident that they had only the very scantest knowledge of the opinions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on culture."

After the RG stated their critical view of Beethoven, M. asked them what they find "specifically unacceptable" in the Appassionata, to which they reply: "We have not heard it, but we regard it critically." M. comments:

"The words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who called this work an amazing, wonderful creation of human genius, were a surprise to them. They sincerely admitted that they did not read Lenin's

works on proletarian culture and that they did not know about L's talks with Klara Zetkin in which he called the widest possible proletarian culture could be built and the really new and great Communist society grow. ...The library collaborators announced: 'Pushkin was a non-proletarian writer.' Upon our mentioning that V.I. Lenin called Pushkin a classic, that he valued his works and read them again and again, they remained silent.... (Etc.)"

We have long emphasized that the Communists are vulnerable where they do not -- or are not allowed to -- study their own "classics." Now a prominent Communist journalist gives assets a fresh peg for new commentaries on the subject. Leftist and revisionist assets might stress the utter incompatibility of the parrot-style learning of Mao's thought with real study of Marxist classics, adding that this parrot-learning recalls similar practices in Russia under Stalin, and that Russia has not yet recovered from its own intellectual straitjacket. Lenin read Pushkin; how many of today's Soviet Communists have read Kafka?

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*A First-Hand
Report on Com-
munist China*

Interview With A
Former Chinese
Communist

On 26 July 1966 a young member of Peking's economic mission to Damascus, Syria quietly took his first open steps to escape

from the Chinese Communist mission. Miao Chen-pai had been thinking about this move for some time - in fact, he had a suitcase packed for fully a week before he saw his chance to make a break. And when it came he took the suitcase from the shelf above his bed and headed straight for the U.S. Embassy in Damascus. In the suitcase were two suits, four shirts, a transistor radio and a Chinese-English dictionary. He explained that he wanted to wear his own clothes and be able to study English and find out independently what was being said about him and his exploit. U.S. officials reported that in hotels en route to Washington, he even insisted on making his own bed. The attachment from U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT's 7 November 1966 issue tells the reader a great deal more about this engaging young Chinese. He appears intelligent, thoughtful, practical and objective - qualities which come through very clearly in the attached. It is suggested that distribution of the interview in whole or part should appeal to an audience much wider than that of the youth student or intellectual.

* * *

*Authoritative
Speaker Spells
Out Answer* "What is U.S. Policy,
Anyway?"

Although our business is covert, not overt, propaganda, we are often confronted with questions from contacts and others as to what U.S. policy really is, especially in Vietnam. Even friendly people often profess to be puzzled as to what the U.S. is trying to do; less friendly individuals sometimes imply or state openly that they doubt that the U.S. knows itself what it is doing. Beyond this, there is a tendency to think that the U.S. lacks confidence in its policy,

and is unsure whether or not success in Vietnam is possible. This latter belief in turn encourages Hanoi to refuse any curtailment of its activities and demands.

Excerpts from an informal speech by W.W. Rostow, given at conference of educators in Washington, 16-17 June 1966, and reproduced in PRESS COMMENT, 7 February 1967, are well-suited to answer these questions and doubts. Rostow is, of course, the former M.I.T. economist and author of many books, including STAGES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH more recently the chief of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State, and now Special Assistant to the President, working in the White House. His remarks are clear, authoritative, and confident. Particularly noteworthy is Rostow's emphasis on the positive economic goals of the U.S. government.

Rostow's speech is suitable for showing to appropriate individual contacts or for our own background information for use in person-to-person discussion. Outlets should not in general be asked to publish all or portions of the speech, but may use it, together with other more recent information, as background for discussions of economic growth, development programs, or U.S. aims and policies, especially with regard to Vietnam. All such public discussion, of course, should be written or broadcast from a point of view appropriate to the country in which the outlet is located or to which it addresses itself.

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30 January 1967

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THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE: TWENTY YEARS LATER

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SITUATION:

"This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious....

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we fail in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world - and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation."

President Harry S. Truman, in his
Message to Congress, March 12, 1947.

On March 12, 1947, President Truman asked Congress to appropriate \$400,000,000 for economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. That Presidential Message to Congress, more popularly known as the Truman Doctrine, signaled the end of American hopes of tranquil relations with the Soviet Union. It marked the beginning of the open struggle between the free world, led by the United States and communism.

Before the Potsdam Conference of July 1945, and even before the San Francisco meeting that established the United Nations Organization (April 1945), President Truman's encounters with Molotov had given him premonitions of serious trouble. The Potsdam Conference supplied the President and his advisers with further qualms about the intentions and the future behavior of the Soviet Union, and from that juncture to the end of the Truman administration (and during the ensuing years) the Soviets pursued with increasing consistency a course of secretiveness, duplicity, obstructive hostility, and tacit repudiation of agreements, of which their prolonged blockade of Berlin and their fomenting of war in Korea were the extreme manifestations. With staggering rapidity the Soviet Union built up a ring of satellites in Eastern Europe.

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Under stresses that seemed at times to be leading straight into a third world war, President Truman was forced into improvising the radically new policy of containment -- a flexible holding operation along the entire far-flung periphery of Soviet domination, with aid supplied as needed to whatever forces were resisting communization. The three crucial tests of the policy of containment were Greece, the Berlin Blockade and Korea. Greece was pacified, and the communist threat quashed; the Berlin blockade was roundly beaten by the airlift, and Korea, a stalemate by military criteria, was a success in the sense that Southern Korea remains independent and prosperous today.

The initial hopes for a successfully functioning United Nations were quickly dashed in the earliest days of that body by the obstructionism of the Soviet Union. The veto, the walkout, the boycott, and calculated rudeness became standard Soviet tactics, and there was widespread fear that the United Nations seemed doomed to failure. It was in this context that President Truman, in proclaiming his Message to Congress, stated

"The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes, imposed on free peoples by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States." (See unclassified attachment for complete text).

Affairs in Greece had been in varying states of crisis since the country's liberation in 1944. The British, whose forces had come in when the Germans moved out, had tried unsuccessfully for three years to restore stability and to cope with the communist-fomented civil war. On February 24, 1947, the British Ambassador in Washington informed the Department of State that after March 31 Great Britain would have to discontinue her economic assistance to Greece and also to Turkey. Subsequently, the British Government announced that its troops in Greece would have to be altogether withdrawn.

President Truman did not take the matter to Congress until nearly three weeks after the British notification. One reason for his delay was his deliberate intention to make his message coincide with the arrival of Secretary of State Marshall in Moscow for conferences; Marshall was to impress upon the Soviets that the days of the soft policy were over, and that Soviet good faith would no longer be taken for granted by the United States. What President Truman meant by the Marshall mission and the message of aid to Greece and Turkey was a double-barreled declaration that the United States would stand up to the Soviets and resist their continuing subversion and grabbing of areas vital to our security.

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Legislation was introduced and adopted in Congress (which formally approved the request for aid on May 15) to provide that the program of aid should lapse whenever the General Assembly or the Security Council should decide that action taken by the United Nations had rendered the continuance of US aid unnecessary or undesirable and that, if the question came before the Security Council, the US would waive its right of veto. Other provisions of the legislation passed by Congress called for aid in the form of loans or grants and for the dispatch to Greece and Turkey of civilian and military advisers to help the recipient government make effective use of the aid. The President was required to withdraw any or all aid if requested to do so by either the Greek or Turkish governments. The recipient governments were required to give free access to US officials and to the press so that they might observe how the aid was being used. Full publicity was to be given to the programs within each country.

The Truman Doctrine, although faced with formidable difficulties, achieved its fundamental aim of keeping Greece and Turkey out of the Soviet orbit. By the end of January 1948, over 90,000 tons of American military equipment had been sent to Greece. At the request of the Greek government American military advisors were sent into the field to advise directly in operations. Toward the end of 1949 hostilities came to an end in Greece, and attention shifted to the country's very serious economic problems - disastrous inflation, severe unemployment, and the almost desperate circumstances of wage earners and white-collar workers.

As to Turkey, the quarterly reports submitted on the program in 1949 expressed satisfaction with the progress toward the objective of a smaller but more effective Turkish armed force - one better matched to the resources of Turkey.

The Truman Doctrine first set the terms and the pattern for US financial, economic and military assistance to nations of the free world, as later developed under the Marshall Plan and various subsequent foreign aid programs.

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Documents of American History. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1963.

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FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

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SITUATION: The 18th Congress of the French Communist Party (PCF) was held in an industrial suburb of Paris from 4 to 8 January 1967. The sessions were marked by little enthusiasm and no spontaneity, and the closing statements included no surprises or innovations. These four themes ran through the discussions at the Congress:

1. *The PCF rank-and-file should realize that the Party's agreement with the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FGDS)* solidified the PCF's emergence from political isolation and therefore justified the compromises which have been made with the non-Communist left.*
2. *A campaign must be mounted to oppose the domestic policies of the Gaullist government and voters must be encouraged to vote for the PCF in the legislative elections now scheduled for 5 and 12 March 1967.*
3. *The organizational and ideological unity and discipline of the PCF must be reemphasized.*
4. *On the international plane, the Chicoms and their French supporters must be attacked while the PCF at the same time should lead the movement calling for an international Communist conference.*

*The FGDS (Fédération de la Gauche Démocratique et Socialiste) includes the Socialists, the Radicals, and an assortment of left-wing political conventions and clubs which initially took shape in late 1965. Its aim was to present one candidate from the left against de Gaulle in the Presidential elections in December of that year; the PCF decided not to run its own candidate but to support the FGDS candidate, François Mitterrand. An agreement between the PCF and the FGDS was formalized in December 1966 in preparation for the forthcoming legislative elections; see attached articles from the 21 December NEW YORK TIMES and the 5 January LONDON TIMES.

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The first day of the Congress was taken up almost entirely by the report of General Secretary Waldeck Rochet* who admitted that there had been opposition within the PCF to the recently concluded agreement with the FGDS. Some French press observers recalled that the language he used ("sectarianism," "dogmatism," "right opportunism") was similar to that used by the Party before a purge, but when the Congress closed, the new Central Committee and the Politburo showed little change and Waldeck Rochet appeared to be still in control of the Party apparatus.

As expected, the Congress paid considerable attention to the subject of Vietnam, but it showed more fervor in condemning the Chicoms for hampering Soviet aid to Hanoi and interfering in the internal affairs of fraternal parties. Waldeck Rochet asserted that the PCF favored a world conference of Communist parties; the Soviet delegate, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member Arvid Pelshe, was more cautious in noting that such a conference would have to be "thoroughly prepared", -- a theme echoed by the Finnish CP delegate; Italian CP Secretary General Luigi Longo expressed his party's reservations on the conference question. The final resolution on the proposed world conference, however, declared that the PCF "will work so that conditions for this convocation, which have ripened recently, will be realized as soon as possible."

The most important rejected amendment to the final political resolution would have made it more critical of Gaullist foreign policy. The rapporteur, Etienne Fajon, asserted that even a reactionary government like the Gaullist one could take certain measures favorable to peace, and to attack them would discourage the "forces of peace" and make the PCF misunderstood by the "popular masses." According to the Soviet news agency TASS, Waldeck Rochet's opening speech, after noting that de Gaulle's visit to the USSR and Kosygin's visit to France had been "received with satisfaction by the majority of Frenchmen", stated:

"At the same time, as pointed out in the draft resolution submitted to the Congress, the PCF, while unhesitatingly supporting all steps in the direction of peace, 'comes out against the negative and dangerous aspects of de Gaulle's foreign policy which serve the interests of monopolies and not the national interests.' Analyzing the political situation in the country, Waldeck Rochet noted the intensification of the economic and political struggle waged by the working class and other social strata. He particularly stressed the need for unity of the workers and the democratic forces and agreement between them on the basis of a joint program with a view to putting an end to the regime of personal power [the standard

*For the fullest available reportage in English translation of this and subsequent material concerned with the Congress see the EBIS DAILY REPORT for West Europe 4 to 13 January. Also see the attached article from the 8 January NEW YORK TIMES.

PCF terminology for de Gaulle's system of government] and establishing genuine democracy."

Five days after the Congress closed, the Executive Committee of the FGDS met under the leadership of François Mitterrand and, according to TASS, "endorsed" the agreement on joint action with the PCF in the March elections. Under this agreement a Communist or Federation candidate who receives more votes in the first round of the elections will be backed by both organizations in the second round. The FGDS was reportedly "not displeased" with the results of the PCF Congress and plans to propose a continuing series of private talks with the PCF after the elections to discuss and widen the areas of agreement between them. The FGDS also reportedly hopes that "more liberal elements" in the PCF will gain more influence and that "in a decade or so" a real dialogue might become possible.

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NORTH VIETNAM TRAINS THAIS IN SUBVERSION

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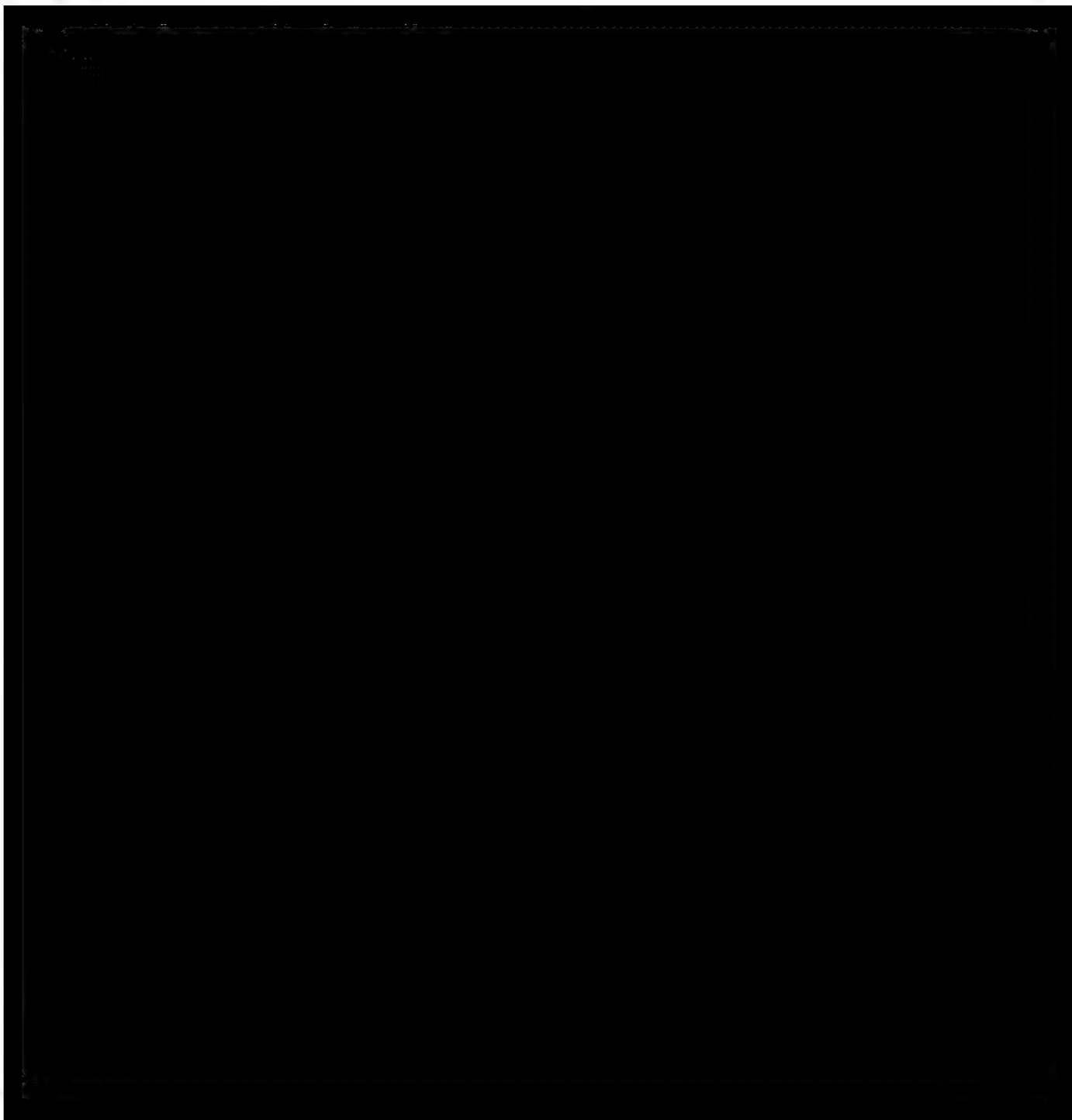
SITUATION: In early 1965 Chinese Communist Foreign Minister Chen Yi told a visiting diplomat that "we may have a guerrilla war going in Thailand before this year is out." Chen went on to say that the Thai government would be overthrown with the aid of Chinese arms and supplies sent to the insurgents operating in Thailand. The same year China presided over the organization of the Thailand Patriotic Front in Peking with the specific purpose of directing Communist subversive activities in the northeastern and southern provinces of Thailand. (Begin SECRET NOFORN) Now there is new evidence that Thailand's Communist Party, with support from Peking and Hanoi, is penetrating areas in northeast, northern and southern Thailand. According to a source with good contacts in the area, the Communists have brought eight villages in northern Thailand under their control since early 1966. In response to these activities the Thai government is giving renewed attention to these areas - both to oppose Communist activities and to expand civil programs aimed at bringing the government closer to the people. Although government forces have been searching out Communist strongholds in two provinces (Nakhon Phanom and Sakon Nakhon) they have been unable to establish contact with terrorist bands operating there. The rugged terrain of such areas, their accessibility to Communist-controlled areas in Laos, and the absence of effective Thai government control and contact with the people have made these areas natural targets for Communist subversion. Peking is making capital on the situation and has actually been training some Thai insurgents in Communist China. The extent to which Hanoi and Peking may be coordinating their efforts in this field is not known. (End SECRET NOFORN) It is known, however, that Hanoi has been conducting such training of Thais in North Vietnam since at least 1962.

On 1 April 1966 a Thai farmer surrendered to the Thai government-operated counter-subversion center in northern Thailand and reported that he had been one of a class of 130 Thais taken to North Vietnam and trained by North Vietnam (NVN) army personnel in guerrilla warfare against the government of Thailand. His details of training, indoctrination, the location and physical layout of the school etc., were corroborated and surfaced to the press in October 1966 (see unclassified attachment). In November two other Thais, trained at the same school, were also surfaced to the press as

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a second step in the field's exploitation of the discovery that North Vietnamese are training Thai insurgents. This training and indoctrination is only one part of the developing pattern of Peking-and Hanoi-directed action against Thailand.

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A FIRST-HAND REPORT ON RED CHINA TODAY

CPYRGHT

Interview With a Chinese Who Grew Up Under Communism

Behind the turmoil in Red China—

Are the Communists riding for a fall? Is their tight control slipping? What do China's millions really think of their rulers?

A vivid picture of today's China emerges from this interview with a Communist defector, Miao Chen-pai. He has only boyhood memories of

China before the Reds. But his knowledge of his homeland since is sharp and perceptive.

Miao Chen-pai, now in the United States, was interviewed by two members of the staff of "U. S. News & World Report" who have lived in China. Both were struck by his intelligent, objective answers to their questions.

Q Mr. Miao, where were you and what were you doing when the Communists came to power in China in 1949?

A I was living with my parents about three hours' train ride from Shanghai. I was 13 then. My parents were both schoolteachers. I was in school.

Q As a 13-year-old boy, what did you think of the Communists and Mao Tse-tung?

A Mao Tse-tung was a hero to me. I believed in him, and in the Communists. I believed their ideas were right and good for China, so later I joined the Communist Party.

Q How long did you continue to believe?

A For many years. That's why I went on to join the Communist Party. I could see some things that were good for my country. Conditions improved for the lowest of the peasants—the ones who never owned any land. The country was unified, too—brought under one Government.

Q What advantages do you get by being a member of the Communist Party?

A We don't get any immediate material advantages from being a member of the party. A party member, for example, gets the same pay as a nonparty member doing the same job. But all Chinese know that, in the long run, the party member does benefit.

Nobody talks about this, but we can see it. Party members are promoted faster, move up to higher jobs. Of course, as you move up the ladder, you get better living quarters

MIAO CHEN-PAI, 29, joined China's Young Communist League in 1949 and the Communist Party itself in 1956. He was in China's armed forces from 1950 until 1957. Then he went to work for the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Last year, Mr. Miao was assigned by the Communists to the commercial mission of the Chinese Embassy in Damascus, Syria. It was there that he walked into the U. S. Embassy last July 26, asked for political asylum and got it.



and better food. So, if you want to get ahead faster, you try to get into the party.

Q Why don't people talk about this?

A You don't like to talk about anything like that in China. For example, students in the universities are not only graded for their work, but also are graded for their loyalty. The party does the grading on loyalty. So, if the party committee at your university hears that you have said something that sounds disloyal, that is put in your record when you graduate. This is bad for you, because it means you are sent to an unsatisfactory job or to some faraway place. All students know this, so they try to show how loyal they are.

Q When did you, Mr. Miao, begin to have doubts about Mao Tse-tung and the Communists—and why?

A Almost all Chinese trusted Mao Tse-tung, thought of him as being almost infallible, until 1957. They believed him when he said he wanted a hundred flowers to bloom and a hundred thoughts to contend. Because they trusted him, many expressed their ideas and criticisms.

Then we found out that the "hundred flowers" was a trap. Mao Tse-tung used this trap to get people to tell their thoughts. In this way, Mao Tse-tung found out who opposed him—and got rid of these people.

Still, many people continued to believe in Mao Tse-tung. They said the trap had been a smart move by him—to get rid of people who were bourgeois and antiparty.

Personally, my doubts began in 1959, when it became obvious to me and others that the "Great Leap Forward"—a creation of Mao—was a failure. Then, afterward, Mao never criticized himself for this error—although he had always said that members of the party should criticize themselves.

Then, when Marshal Peng Teh-huai [former Defense Minister] was purged for criticizing Mao's "Great Leap Forward," I realized that Mao would not criticize himself, nor would he accept the criticism of others. Instead, he blamed others for the failure.

This strengthened my doubts. Not only did Mao Tse-tung refuse to accept criticism, but he also was trying to make himself appear infallible, a man who could make no error.

Q Did others feel this way? Did people talk about it?

A I am certain many people felt this way. But nobody talked about it. We were afraid. Ever since the trap of the hundred flowers, we Chinese keep our discontent in our hearts. We are afraid to speak of these things to each other.

Q Then how can you be certain others felt this way?

A It came out later, in the last few years. It came out in literary work. It came out in criticisms by economic people and the educated classes. It came out even inside the party—which is why you now see the purges and the "great proletarian cultural revolution."

Q How did you learn about these events inside the party in China while you were in Syria?

A Beginning last May, while I still was in the Embassy in Damascus, our Ambassador received orders from Peking to implement the cultural revolution. Peking began sending him a number of documents on the situation in China. These were studied and discussed in long sessions held every day in the Embassy.

Some of the documents and reports were shown only to the relatively few Communist Party members in the Embassy. As a party member, I was shown these documents.

From them, I learned what happened to Peng Chen.

Peng Chen was one of the six most-powerful men in the Politburo of the Communist Party—the mayor of Peking, the capital, and also head of the party organization there. The documents showed that he was removed primarily because he was anti-Mao.

In September of 1965, Peng Chen made statements at a national meeting of provincial propaganda workers. The statements were considered anti-Mao. What Peng Chen said was that everyone should be given freedom to speak—and that, even if it is Chairman Mao who is wrong, he, too, must be criticized.

Mao Tse-tung no doubt has made many errors, but as long as he retains power, no one will be allowed to criticize him. Peng was purged a few months later.

Q Peng and others must have known the risks they were taking when they dared to criticize Mao. Why did they do it?

A Peng and other high leaders in the party and the military have their own followers. I don't know, but it may have been that they felt strong enough, politically, to voice their opinions.

But this I do know: The reason for the existence of widespread opposition to Chairman Mao's policies is the many setbacks the country has suffered. Both domestically and in the field of foreign relations, the policies of Mao have not succeeded. But these policies have no chance of being changed so long as Mao Tse-tung is alive, and so long as anyone who questions the policies is purged.

Q Do you believe, Mr. Miao, that the purges and mobs of young Red Guards will make everyone obedient to Mao Tse-tung now?

A No, I don't. As long as Mao's policies are followed, whether by Mao himself or by his successors, there will be opposition. There are other groups besides the Mao Tse-tung group. As I said, Peng Chen had many followers, and many of these have not been purged. There are groups in the military, too. As long as there are groups who believe that Mao Tse-tung's policies are wrong for China, the struggle will continue.

Q What in your mind are the main policies of Mao that are causing the problems?

A There are two main policies: At home, there is the policy of continued class struggle; abroad, there is the policy of world revolution.

Q Are these policies popular?

A I don't think so. The class struggle at home means continuing war against the *bourgeoisie* and the people with bourgeois thoughts. Chinese suspected of having bourgeois thoughts are those who are not opposed to the *bourgeoisie*.

As for world revolution, I don't think the Chinese are enthusiastic or very much interested. They are more interested in getting a better life for themselves. They do not like to make sacrifices to help "liberate" people far away. People ask why we have to send help to foreign "liberation movements" when we don't have enough money for our own development.

... "Thought control is hated. People are unhappy"

Q What do the Chinese think they should have to make their lives better?

A Personal freedom is the main thing. Thought control is hated. People are unhappy with the way Communism is breaking up traditional family life. They want time in the evening to spend with their families—instead of attending study groups and self-criticism meetings and listening to propaganda lectures. People want time for themselves.

Q What do they think of things like the law against marriage before a fairly advanced age?

A The law isn't too bad. It says men can marry at age 20 and women at age 18. But the party says men shouldn't marry until they are 27, and women until they are 25. And you must understand that, in China, what the party says is more important than the law. So, generally, in the cities, men don't marry until they are 27. In the countryside, however, more people get married earlier—following the law rather than the party.

Q Chinese propaganda also discourages sexual relations before marriage. Is this accepted?

A Many people do accept this. They work hard, practice self-restraint. But many people do not obey—particularly in the universities. You never hear about it in China, but there are a great many babies born out of wedlock.

Q How effective is the party propaganda in China?

A Very effective. Remember, we hear nothing from the outside world that the party doesn't want us to hear. As a result, Mao Tse-tung has been able to make the Chinese believe one thing at one time, and just the opposite at another time.

In 1956, for example, Mao Tse-tung told us that Russia was the great leader and teacher of the revolution. Then a few years later, after Khrushchev had gone to Camp David to see Eisenhower, he made us believe that Khrushchev no longer was a Marxist-Leninist, and Russia no longer was the leader of the revolution.

AS MAO'S TROUBLES GROW—

Q Well, if Mao's propaganda is that effective, why does he now need the cultural revolution and the Red Guards and the purges of party leaders?

A Mao Tse-tung needs all this because of the opposition that has developed to his policies—and because of his failures. He started the cultural revolution because of this opposition. Then he found that many members of the Young Communist League were not supporting the cultural revolution, or were not enthusiastic.

So then he had to turn to the Red Guards. These are the younger people, who are most easily swayed and controlled by the propaganda.

Q Who are the Red Guards? How did they get started?

A The Red Guards started in the universities in Peking. That was well after the cultural revolution had been started.

At first, the Red Guards were not publicly formed in the name of the party. The party element behind Mao and Marshal Lin Biao wanted it to appear that the Red Guards had been formed by student leaders in the universities. But, in fact, the Red Guards were backed, instructed and developed by this element of the party.

Q Do you think the Red Guards can be controlled—or that they might turn out to be some kind of "Frankenstein monster" and turn on their creators?

A I don't think it is possible that they will get out of control, like a "Frankenstein monster." That is because Mao and Lin have created them, would make sure to have means of control over them. Chinese Communist Party leaders have had great experience in creating and stopping such movements, you know.

Q Is the present situation connected in any way with the results of the break with Soviet Russia?

A I don't think it is, in the minds of the people.

When it became realized that there was a break, people were happy, in a way. Now, they thought, China can show the world that it can progress on its own, without help. We Chinese had confidence that we could progress on our own, although we realized it would take longer. But we felt that the accomplishment would be more satisfying, because it would be ours.

Besides, there was dissatisfaction with the type of help Russia was giving us. Engineers told me that the automobile plant the Russians helped us build in Changchun was not good. I didn't see the Russian plants myself, but many people who did told me the same kind of story.

"CHINA CAN PUSH AHEAD"—

Q Can China, in fact, progress on its own?

A I think China basically can push ahead economically. Of course, China is still economically weak. Because of this, she hopes to supplement her own technological and scientific capabilities with the technological and scientific capabilities of the Western countries.

She is seeking to do this now by developing her foreign trade with these countries. Though she has shown she can do things on her own—the atom bomb, for example—China has a long way to go, still, in many, many fields. Such things as bombs, of course, are not everything. China in recent years has refused development aid from Russia, and there have been no new developments or changes on this.

I don't believe China needs aid from Russia or anybody else. As a matter of national pride, and because China is a vast country and full of resources, I believe China can do it on her own—though it will take time. And, of course, she needs to develop her foreign trade in order to strengthen herself economically and technologically.

Q What will be the effects of the development of a nuclear-carrying missile which Communist China has just announced?

A I don't believe it will have any actual military worth, but it can elevate China's influence and be of use to her in a propaganda way for prestige.

I think the reaction of the Chinese people will be pride, just as they were proud that China had an atom bomb.

Q Is there any sentiment of importance in favor of Chiang Kai-shek's coming back from Taiwan?

A Older people might like to see Chiang come back. Others might want the personal liberties that they now believe existed under the Nationalist Government. But the young people know hardly anything about Chiang and the Nationalists—except what the Communists tell them.

Q Is there any man or group who appears to the Chinese to give hope of restoring the personal liberties they want?

A I know of no specific person or group, but the people do long for personal freedom. So, eventually, maybe the people will be able to find such a man or group for themselves.

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... "The U.S. is the enemy in the popular mind"

Many, particularly the older people, long for the old ways and customs. I'll give you an example:

A few years ago, Mao Tse-tung ordered the whole Peking Opera changed. This was the great opera of China. The songs were familiar, and many people loved them. Mao Tse-tung changed the opera so that it would do songs that help the revolution. One day, in a barber shop in Peking, I heard an older man ask the barber to please turn off the radio while it was playing one of the new songs of the opera. The barber did.

Q How would you describe the kind of personal liberties that the Chinese want?

A There are many different kinds, depending on who the individual Chinese is and where he is. A peasant wants to own his own land. A worker wants to be free to enjoy his time off work. A writer wants to be free to put down his own thoughts—to criticize if he feels strongly about something.

What it amounts to, I guess, is the kind of revisionism they have in Russia and Eastern Europe, although this I did not realize until after I left China.

The material shortages bother the Chinese people. But many people live just about as they did before. Some—the lower peasants—may live a little better than before.

But it is the spiritual oppression that is hated most—the thought control, the control of your time.

Q How tight is political control from the party headquarters in Peking?

A It is extremely tight. Whenever provincial party leaders get out of line, people are sent out from Peking to straighten them out. This happened in Anhwei and in other provinces.

Now the Red Guards are being used against some of the provincial party headquarters.

Q What do the Chinese people generally feel about the American people now? Are we the hated enemy, or would they like to make friends again?

A I am sorry to say that the U.S. is the hated enemy in the popular mind as a result of the propaganda. I do not feel that they particularly fear the U.S.—and this, also, is the result of propaganda.

It is hard for foreigners to understand this if they have never lived under such a system. Ever since 1950, the propaganda against the United States has been never-ceasing. After being subjected to such cleverly devised propaganda day after day for 15 years, the human mind can't help but be affected by it.

CHANCES OF WAR WITH U.S.—

Q What about the war? What would make the Chinese enter the fighting in Vietnam?

A We Chinese do not feel that the party wants war with the United States. I personally never felt we were going to war in 1958 over the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

I cannot say now what would force the party to decide to fight in Vietnam. Once the party said China would go to war if Hanoi was bombed. But Hanoi was bombed, and China did not go to war.

Maybe China would go to war if American ground troops invaded North Vietnam and moved too close to the Chinese border. But I am not even sure of that. It isn't like Korea. There, the party feared that the Americans would threaten the Chinese industries just north of the Yalu River.

I think China might enter the war if the whole regime of Ho Chi Minh were threatened, but I don't know.

Q In your view, what is the main danger that Communist China now presents to its neighbors?

A I can't say what the danger is to any other neighboring country now, except for Vietnam. There, the Chinese Communist Government policy is to prevent any peace negotiations. There are two reasons:

First, Chinese Communist foreign policies are in conflict with Soviet foreign policies. Therefore, the Chinese Communists, by pushing their foreign-policy ideas in Vietnam, hope to win an ideological victory over the Soviets.

Second, the Chinese Communists hope to expand Communism throughout Southeast Asia through successes in Vietnam. The Vietnam war, therefore, is the basic key to Mao's whole theory of world revolution and wars of "national liberation." He wants victory in Vietnam because that would be taken as evidence that he is right and Russia is wrong. But, if the United States can bring about negotiations for peace, he loses.

South Vietnam is not Mao's whole goal. It is the key to Communist expansion generally. So Mao will try every possibility to prevent peace.

WHY COLLAPSE IS UNLIKELY—

Q Where does China go from here? Is it headed for internal collapse, for example?

A So far, I haven't seen anything to indicate that an internal collapse is coming to China. But, inside China, there are a lot of contradictions, and these contradictions are sharpening. The main one is the desire of the people for more freedom.

After a period of time—how long, I really couldn't guess—this might bring about a trend toward something like revisionism and changes in China. But, so far, I really see no basis for believing internal collapse is coming.

Q Is there a chance that China will break up into semi-autonomous regional governments or regimes?

A I see no possibility of this, because the power of the Central Government—Mao and his group—is simply too strong, too ironclad.

China won't go back into the old system of war lords. And I don't think there will be semiautonomous regional governments set up. We had them, you know, even under Communism. It wasn't until 1954 that Mao Tse-tung was able to break the hold that some party groups had over various regions.

But what you are more likely to see develop is political divisions among various groups. We already have had that—which is why we now have the purges and the cultural revolution.

Q In your personal opinion, what is the best course China could take?

A This is a very difficult question.

My personal view of revisionism is that it is the period of transformation from a socialist system to a capitalist system. You see, Marx himself told how to carry on revolution against capitalism, but he never explained a specific way to build socialism.

All over the world there are people who say they are Marxists, and many are trying to build socialism. But Russia itself, after almost 50 years, has reverted to revisionism, and this, to my mind, is evidence of the failure of socialism.

So, up to now, I don't know how to build socialism in China, and I don't know who does.

Also, I don't see how anybody can deny that modern capitalism is successful.

30 January 1967

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF MARCH 12, 1947

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey. The United States has received from the Greek government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation. I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940 this industrious and peace-loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings. As a result of these tragic conditions a military minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel, and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists, and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

(Doctrine Cont.)

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other. Meanwhile, the Greek government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid, but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek

government had done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the Right or the Left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor Turkey also deserves our attention. The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support. Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East. The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey. As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will and their way of life upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes, imposed on free peoples by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The government of the United States had made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly impressed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor Turkey would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well be spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war. It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East. We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds I have taken into consideration the

maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace. The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one tenth of one per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

THE
ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
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THE WORLD TODAY

CPYRGHT

Pre-election manoeuvrings in France

PETER STRAFFORD

FRANCE has been living through a long-drawn-out pre-election period ever since last year's presidential campaign. The elections for the National Assembly, which have to be held by next March at the latest, have been described as the third round of the presidentials and, although this terminology is disputed by Gaullists, there is no denying the close link between the two votes. Taken together, they will demonstrate not only the electorate's view of the achievements of Gaullism, but also something of the pattern that French political life will have in the future. General de Gaulle, after all, is an exceptional figure, and the events that brought him to power were also exceptional. Now that France is in a less critical state, the question is how far the present pattern of things is to be continued.

The immediate issue is whether the present Gaullist coalition will retain its overall majority in the Assembly. This majority has enabled the General to go his own way with little hindrance from parliamentarians, and has drastically reduced the importance of the Assembly. If the Gaullists now lose their majority the situation will immediately be altered. Whatever their divisions—and they are considerable—the Opposition parties will still have the possibility of outvoting the Government, and this fact alone will give extra weight to the Assembly.

The Gaullists received a serious shock from the General's relatively poor performance in the presidential election. If they are again returned with a majority in the Assembly, much will have been done to repair the damage, and politics will settle back into the familiar pattern. But things

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will not be quite the same as before. People will be looking ahead to the day of the General's departure, sooner or later, and the centrifugal tendencies which have been building up within the Gaullist coalition in the last few months would seem likely to become more marked. M. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, in particular, the former Minister of Finance and now increasingly vocal as the leader of the Independent Republicans, has been doing everything he can to convince public opinion that he is not an 'unconditional' Gaullist. Unless his party comes very badly out of the elections, more will be heard of him, and it will almost certainly not be to the liking of the orthodox Union for the New Republic (UNR)

The situation shows all the signs, then, of becoming more lively than it has been, and the question is whether French politics are heading back to a state comparable with that of the Fourth Republic. General de Gaulle did not hesitate to threaten that this would be the result if he was not re-elected last December, and Gaullists are making much of this in their campaign preparations. Their high command, with M. Pompidou at its head, has the title of *Comité d'Action pour la Vème République*, with the implication that all the Opposition parties are trying to return to the Fourth Republic. The recent announcement by M. Pierre Psimlin, Mayor of Strasbourg and a member of the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP), that he would not be standing for re-election to the Assembly¹ was, with its implication that the choice was between Gaullism and chaos, grist to their mill.

To speak of a return to the Fourth Republic is, however, to ignore the changes that have come about in French political life under Gaullism. In the first place, the presidential election, now part of the country's voting habits, has done much to modify political structures. There has also been a groundswell of general political interest which is now just beginning to challenge the ways of the traditional parties. The growth of this interest has been in strong contrast to the impotence of the parties, and to a great extent in reaction to it. It is not solely a reaction to the rule of Gaullism. It began with disgust at the way politics were conducted under the Fourth Republic, and has been further stimulated by the high-handedness of the Gaullist regime.

The most obvious sign of this concern, and the means by which it has been focused, have been the political clubs. The growth of these clubs has been one of the most marked features of the Fifth Republic. Some, of course, such as the *Club des Jacobins*, had been created before 1958, but the greater part of them have come into existence since then and they now exist in towns all over France. They burst on the public consciousness in 1964, when the two main groups each held a congress, and a number of them now have an established position in the *Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste*, the left-wing grouping headed by M. François Mitterrand. Club members have long worked for a fusion of parties in the interest of greater effectiveness, and they have been able to bring a certain pressure to bear on the evolution of the federation. They have played a part in the working out of its programme, and have succeeded on occasion in preventing the big parties, the Socialists and the Radicals, from imposing their views on the federation as a whole.

¹ *Le Monde*, 24 August 1966.

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It is of course important not to overestimate the political weight of the clubs. They consist to a great extent of 'intellectuals'—academics, civil servants, and professional people—and when it comes to nominating candidates, or getting out the vote, in the elections for the Assembly they cannot have much direct influence. What they have done, however, is to enable a whole new section of informed people to find their place in political life. In the past too many people tended to look down their noses at the activities of politics, even if they had an interest in public affairs as such. They regarded politicians as mediocre, and the political parties did nothing to encourage them to take an active part. This meant that the parties tended to lack qualified people to speak on the issues of the day, and concentrated on the purely political aspects involved.

The clubs have provided a half-way house, between non-involvement and total party commitment, and enabled their members to bring their expertise to the service of the parties. They vary considerably in their political leanings, and have very different views on the degree to which they should commit themselves to political action. By far the greater part of them are on the Left, and they have used their relative freedom to discuss political issues in depth and to bring pressure on the left-wing parties. Their most marked feature is their view that French political life, and particularly the traditional parties, need to be re-structured.

In this they have come up against the resistance of the parties themselves. The influential *Club Jean Moulin*, for instance, gave strong backing to M. Gaston Defferre, the Mayor of Marseille, last year when he attempted to create a new federation ranging from the Socialists to the MRP, and the move failed. Members of the hierarchy of the Socialist Party speak with scorn of the 'unrealistic' ideas of club members, and the current smear-word 'technocrat' is freely used against them. A technocrat, for these officials, is someone who knows what is best for other people and aims at deciding for them; he is a man who regards himself as belonging to an élite, and considers that politicians are idiots.

The violence of this reaction reveals the strength of the feelings involved, and the divisions which have to be overcome if the *Fédération de la Gauche* is to develop into a more effective force. At the moment the Socialists regard it as more or less their property, and their leadership shows no intention of allowing any diminution of its own sovereignty in the interests of a wider, more co-ordinated movement. In this they are opposed by the club members, but one may suspect that it will take more than the pressures of a few 'technocrats', however vocal, to make them change their minds. There is, none the less, an evolution, in that the federation has agreed on a common programme and is to present candidates standing in its own name, rather than in those of the parties, in virtually all constituencies. Further progress will depend on the success that it meets at the polls.

The aim of the federation is to present itself as an alternative Government, with its own left-wing programme and leaders capable of taking over the Ministries. It is this which lies behind the proclamation of a 'contre-Gouvernement', or shadow Cabinet, and the specialists who have worked on the programme have attempted to make it a plausible document, with realistic objectives. The road to power will be a long haul, however, and on the way the federation will have to decide what attitude to take towards the Communist Party, which now monopolizes approximately half France's left-wing voters.

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The federation is the main example of an evolution in French political life which has begun during the Fifth Republic. It has succeeded in bringing together the Socialists and the Radicals, as well as M. Mitterrand's *Union Démocrate et Socialiste de la Résistance* (UDSR), a small party founded, as its name suggests, at the end of the war. At the same time, it has brought in the 'intellectuals' of the clubs, many of them highly qualified men in their own fields, and this has given it an informed basis for policy that French political parties have not traditionally had. It is, of course, easy to point to its shortcomings. It is nowhere near winning an overall majority in the Assembly, it is divided within itself, and it is strongly opposed by some of the most vocal elements of the non-Communist Left, in particular the supporters of M. Pierre Mendès-France. The innovators, the 'forces vives', come up against the rigid and doctrinaire attitudes of the traditional parties, and it is not at all certain that the whole structure will not fall apart after the elections for the Assembly. It does nevertheless exist, and if it can poll a higher percentage of votes than the Communist Party it will have taken its first step towards its aim—of becoming the major pole of attraction for the Left.

The problem for the Gaullists is a very different one, but it does have a number of points in common with that of the federation. The Gaullists, too, have to face the question of maintaining the cohesion of a coalition, though for them it has evolved in the opposite direction. Whereas the Left is confronted with the need to unite a number of distinct entities, the Gaullists have to think how they are going to keep together the various shades of opinion which have been brought into the same camp by the personality of the General. The strength of General de Gaulle's appeal has always been that it has attracted men with many different political sympathies. This applies particularly in something like a referendum, or the presidential election, when he has been able to pick up votes that would normally go to, say, the Socialists or the Communists. It also means that the spectrum of active Gaullists is now a very wide one, ranging from a new grouping of those of the Left who are entirely in agreement with his foreign policies to people of the traditional Right who see him as the man who brought stability and self-respect to France.

This wide electoral appeal has given the General and the Gaullists a commanding position since 1962. France has had strong and stable government for the first time for many years, and the question confronting the Gaullist leaders is how to maintain this situation when the General is gone—or is felt to be on the point of going. For the UNR, of course, the ideal solution would be that it should increase its number of seats in the Assembly, now rather short of an absolute majority, to a majority, so enabling it to do without the increasingly grudging support of M. Giscard d'Estaing's Independent Republicans. It certainly cannot count on such an eventuality, however, and the tactics since the cold douche of the presidential election have been to enlarge the base of support for the Government itself. M. Edgar Faure, a Prime Minister during the Fourth Republic and a man with his own following, has been brought into the Government as Minister of Agriculture, and a certain prominence has been given to 'left-wing Gaullists' in general. M. Edgar Pisani, now Minister of Equipment, has taken a leading part in the *Front du Progrès*, an association of this type, pronouncing himself firmly for a change in the Government's internal policies.

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This wing of the coalition serves to balance the more right-wing Independent Republicans, and to justify the claim, made by M. Pompidou himself, that the Gaullists are in the centre of the political spectrum. It is an indication, however, that the UNR itself, the core of Gaullism, is on the defensive, and only the future will tell whether these various elements will find enough common ground to stick together. If they do, the Gaullist vision is of a vast majority grouping, basing itself essentially on the principles enunciated by General de Gaulle, but 'pragmatic' in their application. The vision does not include an effective Opposition, capable of coming to power in the place of the Gaullists.

It is interesting that the Gaullists, like the innovators of the *Fédération de la Gauche*, now lay emphasis on the need for politicians to have the backing of expertise. Here too they have arrived at a similar position after setting out from a quite different basis. Whereas it is felt in the federation that Deputies should be qualified and well informed in order to help raise the standing of the Assembly from its present low ebb, the Gaullists take the view that the Assembly now fulfils its role very well. It has given up its habit of overturning Governments, and this, in the Gaullist view, means that the Deputies, deprived of the opportunity of 'playing' politics, take more trouble to prepare their positions. They claim that Gaullist Deputies, far from being the mere ciphers they appear to be, play an important role in influencing Government policy behind the scenes.

This optimistic view ignores the notorious rate of absenteeism in most sessions of the Assembly, and the difficulty that all parties are now having in finding able men ready to stand for election. The Assembly as it is at present simply does not attract such men. The Gaullists are nevertheless attempting to relieve their old guard, replacing them with younger, better-qualified men who will present a more modern image. Gaullism is, after all, something of a brotherhood at its centre, its members taking pride in being able to assert that they were with the General in London during the war. It is now realized that the movement must change if it is to become an effective party for the future. 'Military' Gaullism has to be transformed into 'political' Gaullism, as one UNR official has put it, and the close family feeling must be replaced by professional competence. This attitude is not unlike that of those on the Left who are struggling to replace the old warhorses of the past. In the case of the Gaullists, it will mean that a number of Deputies now in the Assembly will not be encouraged to stand again.

The Gaullists tend to decry the political importance of the clubs that have developed on the Left. The UNR has nevertheless created a few of its own in a number of provincial centres—there is one, for instance, in Marseille, another in Clermont-Ferrand—and in them they promote the examination of specific local problems, rather than broad political issues. M. Giscard d'Estaing, too, has set about founding clubs very actively this year, as part of his campaign for promoting his party's interests. They now exist in several different towns, under the general title of *Perspectives et Réalités*. The object of these clubs is not only to give purely political backing to particular parties, but also to provide a forum in which the problems of the day can be examined in detail. This tendency towards tapping the resources of specialists is one of the marks of the present political scene.

A more specialized approach to political problems will not, however, by itself make for stability when General de Gaulle has gone. The presi-

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dential election seems likely to remain, and it is this which has clipped the wings of the traditional parties. But for the present system, there would have been no possibility of M. Mitterrand or M. Jean Lecanuet, the centre candidate, achieving the status of national figures, and subsequently being able to launch political movements that are not limited by the traditional boundaries between parties. It is not surprising that the presidential election is supported by many members of the left-wing political clubs, while being opposed by the party hierarchies. The election by universal vote has enabled the candidates to win a particular place with the electorate which is a means of bringing pressure on the parties.

On the other hand, it is not only the 'system' which is responsible for the present relative simplification of French political life. There is also the personality and political ability of General de Gaulle. Last year's presidential election was dominated by the General, and the Opposition parties were obsessed by the need to measure up to him. Unless the General is still on the scene in 1972, when he will be eighty-two years old, the same will not be true at the next presidential election, and it is not impossible that there will then be a whole array of candidates, more than one of them from the present Gaullist coalition. M. Mitterrand's success in winning the support of the whole of the Left—Radicals, Socialists, and Communists, as well as of the smaller parties—was largely due to the presence of the General opposite, and there is no certainty that he or a successor will bring off a similar feat next time. There could be more than one 'Gaullist' candidate, and more than one from the Left.

The manœuvres that have been taking place in preparation for the elections to the Assembly hardly suggest that French politics are going to lose their long-standing complexity. If one excludes the extreme Right, which came particularly poorly out of the presidential election, there are at least five main groupings, none of them homogeneous, jostling for position: the UNR, the Independent Republicans, M. Lecanuet's Democratic Centre, the left-wing federation, and the Communist Party. Alliances will certainly be struck up between them, but there is nothing to suggest that these alliances will survive the elections.

The Gaullists, as the coalition in power, have the most to lose. The UNR is far and away the largest party in the Assembly, and feels that it should dominate strategy for the Government group. It has, however, run up against the ambitions of the Independent Republicans, and the resulting dispute between the two parties has damaged the Gaullist image. M. Giscard d'Estaing has agreed to sit on the *Comité d'Action pour la Vème République*, but it is still not certain that he is going to go along with M. Pompidou's ruling that there should be only one Gaullist candidate standing in each constituency. He is determined to increase the number of Independent Republican Deputies, and there are several constituencies, in the Paris region in particular, in which his ambitions and those of the UNR clash. M. Giscard d'Estaing has declared his support for Government policies in general—having left office only in January, he would have found it difficult to do otherwise—but he has made it clear that this support does not always extend to particular aspects. He has announced, for instance, that if he had remained at the Ministry of Finance he would not have followed the same policies as his successor, M. Michel Debré. He is also making a strong bid for the support of people who oppose General de Gaulle's European policy.

One of the key sectors in the elections will be the area now known as the centre. To the amusement of political commentators, claims to

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occupy this ground have now been put forward by three political leaders, M. Lecanuet, M. Giscard d'Estaing, and, last but not least, M. Pompidou. It was M. Lecanuet, the surprise candidate in the presidential election, who first demonstrated the value of this sector, and the danger to the whole Gaullist position if it were lost. The centre includes people who disagree with the Gaullist concept of Europe, but also many who are dissatisfied with the Government's internal economic and social policies. The Democratic Centre, which M. Lecanuet founded after the presidential election, aims at repeating his success of last December by taking votes both from the Gaullists and from the Left. It is, of course, a target for Gaullist onslaughts, and M. Giscard d'Estaing has set his sights on at least a part of its potential electorate. M. Lecanuet reckons, however, on winning enough votes to enable the Democratic Centre to emerge as the 'arbiter' of any Government that may be formed afterwards.

His view is that no overall majority will emerge from the elections, and that the centre will be able to impose its conditions for participation in, or support for, the new Government. Since such a Government is infinitely more likely to be Gaullist than Leftist, M. Lecanuet appears to consider that he will be able to influence the policies of General de Gaulle—more effectively from outside the coalition than M. Giscard d'Estaing ever succeeded in doing from inside. He may not be right, but it is interesting that a poll published by the French Institute of Public Opinion in August found only 22 per cent of those questioned in favour of a majority consisting solely of Gaullists, while a further 21 per cent favoured a coalition of Gaullists and the Democratic Centre.

M. Lecanuet's position would be stronger if he had better chances of an alternative alliance on the Left. The question of possible alliances between the centre and the *Fédération de la Gauche* has, however, become the major point of disagreement on the Left, and, in spite of various overtures, M. Lecanuet cannot count on much open support from that quarter. There are many members of the federation, particularly among the Radicals, who would be very willing to co-operate with the centre. But they have been flatly told by the Communists that the federation cannot have it both ways: either it allies itself with the 'reactionaries' of the Democratic Centre, in which case any deal with the Communists is out, or else it reaches an agreement with the Communists. Put this way, the dilemma of the federation is a difficult one. An exclusive alliance with the Communists can, after all, be counted to frighten away a number of supporters. On the other hand, since the failure of M. Defferre's plan for a centre-Left federation, M. Mitterrand and other leaders of the non-Communist Left have given priority to links with the Communists.

For the Communists, the main object of the election campaign is not so much to defeat the Gaullists, much of whose foreign policy they support, as to take a further step out of the 'ghetto' in which they have been kept since the 1940s. Their support for M. Mitterrand in the presidential election was a move in this direction, but it was taken out of weakness, for fear of the poor showing any Communist candidate would have made on his own. They feel stronger in the campaign for the Assembly, and are determined not to find themselves committed to a non-Communist Left which is itself tainted with centrism. M. Lecanuet is for them the worst of

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all worlds, 'Atlantic' in his foreign policy and 'liberal' at home. They see no reason to trust the policies of the federation towards the centre, and give every sign of playing their own cards strongly in the elections. They were the first to present a full list of candidates, and the first to have their election posters out in Paris.

The federation has remained unruffled and equivocal in the face of Communist demands, conceding only the principle that priority goes to an arrangement with the Communists. Its own interest, as far as the elections go, lies in the traditional policy of making different alliances in different constituencies, some with the Communists, some with the centre. Its two leaders, M. Mitterrand and M. Guy Mollet, the secretary-general of the Socialist Party, are both astute politicians, and of the two it is M. Mollet who swings more political weight within the federation. He is a man who likes to keep all his options open for as long as possible.

The main question-mark over the elections is how far General de Gaulle will intervene in the campaign himself. The Gaullist party leaders are counting on him, and he learned last December that an Olympian attitude did him no good with the voters. If he associates himself strongly with the UNR, he will do something to counteract their weakness at local level, and help them to take votes from the Socialists and Communists. He himself has always been able to do this, and his visits this year to the Soviet Union and Cambodia are certain to have appealed to left-wing voters. On the other hand, such a degree of involvement would also mark him out as a party leader, and this is something that he is notoriously reluctant to be. It would also involve him in any setback that the Gaullists might suffer.

What he will do if such a setback takes place remains even more uncertain. Clearly much depends on the extent of the damage, and the limitations that are imposed on him. The Opposition parties are so divided among themselves that they could be ineffective against him. He has the possibility of calling new elections, of introducing a referendum, or even, in the last resort, of taking special powers under Article 16 of the Constitution. He could, of course, decide that the moment had come for him to return finally to Colombey-les-deux-Eglises. But the situation would presumably have to be very critical before he took this step.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
12 December 1966

Communist progress in France

From our Correspondent
Paris, December 11

The Communist Party, with 425,000 card-carrying members, is now at its strongest point since the return of General de Gaulle to power in 1958.

A report prepared for the party congress which meets on January 4 discloses that during the three years after General de Gaulle's return the party lost 30,000 members. Since 1961, Gaullists.

However, applications for membership have steadily increased, and today there are 20,000 more members and 2,500 more cells than in 1958. The circulation of "Humanité" is said to have reached 203,000, an increase of 23,000. The report emphasises the proportion of members under 30 who hold positions of responsibility, but adds that "much remains to be done in this domain." In fact, the party is having serious difficulties with the Union of Communist Students.

M. Jacques Duclos, one of the party's Politburo, who was so imprudent as to let himself be photographed shaking hands with General de Gaulle in the Russian Embassy last week, has this weekend tried his best to play down the effects of the Kosygin visit on the party's rank and file. "The French do not make up their minds on the strength of a visit by a foreign statesman, but because of taxes and rents which are increasing," he said.

M. Duclos said that the Communists bore no personal grudge against General de Gaulle, and wished him "a long and happy retirement." Explaining the famous handshake which must have staggered those Socialists and Communists who for years have been following the order to "Boycott de Gaulle," he said: "I am a polite man. I was invited by the comrades and there the gentleman who I know offered me his hand. After all, if Comrade Kosygin saw nothing wrong in shaking the General's hand, why should little M. Duclos."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
12 DECEMBER 1966

Unproletarian tastes

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What is more symbolic of royal divertissement than a hunt in the coverts on the great estate at Rambouillet? And what is more symbolic of anti-Marxists of Marxist zeal than socialized medicine? The juxtaposition of these questions results from our amusement at two reports appearing simultaneously in the newspapers on Friday. The first was about the Soviet leaders' day out with their guns as guests of President de Gaulle at Rambouillet. The second was about the Soviet physicians who have made the quite startling proposal that Russians should open self-supporting hospitals in which patients should pay for care.

Of course all this is further evidence of how we fool ourselves by accepting stereotypes. We really should not have been startled in the first place. Russia is still Russia, despite all the slogans we have heard for nearly half a century about the workers of the world, about the international proletariat—or even dialectical materialism. Increasingly, we are coming to see that Commissars end up as ambitious as Czars to further Russia's rather than communism's interests. And we were, of course, shortsighted if we ever thought that communism would make much difference to human nature for very long.

There certainly was not very much proletarian about the pictures of Kosygin and Gromyko with their guns out

in the woods at Rambouillet. These photos were the male counterpart of those which appeared at the time of the visit of the de Gaulles to Moscow, showing a quietly elegant Mrs. de Gaulle in company with some of the Soviet leaders' wives. The latter were far from dowdy in their choice of dress and maquillage. Indeed they were doing very well in trying to keep up with the Faubourg St. Honoré—and seemed eons away from peasant kerpchiefs or even collective farms.

The most recent news we read about collective farms was that they were changing, too. They have not been dismantled or turned over to private ownership yet. But pay and benefits for workers on them are robbing the farms of their original dour austerity. So much so, in fact, that guaranteed minimum wages are keeping workers on the farms now, even in slack periods. There was a time when workers welcomed slack periods as an opportunity to slip off and make something on the side through self-employment. Now they are so much better off that they turn up for work on the farms, winter and summer, and the management does not know what jobs to give them.

As the proposal about payment for care in self-supporting hospitals further shows, when people see a chance to better themselves, not even the most high-sounding Communists can stand in their way.

NEW YORK TIMES
21 December 1966

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FRENCH LEFTISTS IN ELECTION PACT

Communists and Federation
of Other Parties Join in
Fight Against Gaullism

By RICHARD E. MOONEY

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 20—The non-

Communist left and the Communist party agreed early today to fight Gaullism together in next spring's parliamentary elections.

The terms of the agreement, which are not to be published until tomorrow, are considered to be less important than its existence.

Assuming that it is respected during the campaign, the agreement marks the end of the Communists' long virtual isolation from other political groups. The Communists were in the first all-embracing coalition that governed France just after World War II but were then out in 1947 and have been isolated since.

The agreement does not mean that the left will win the elections next March. Rather it is viewed as a first step in the direction of developing a unified left. It is still commonly expected that the Gaullists will retain a majority, even if they have to piece it together with some non-Gaullists. The leftists' unity agreement is itself reported to be a loose one, because even among the participants there is dissent. Moreover, it embraces only a part of the opposition and, in fact, only a part—albeit a major part—of the left.

Federation Is Young

The parties to the agreement are the Communist party and the Federation of the Democratic-Socialist Left, which comprises the big Socialist party, the once-big Radical party, and several small political "clubs."

The Communist party is the second biggest in France, after President de Gaulle's Union for the New Republic, and claims about 20 per cent of the electorate. The Federation was formed last spring under Francois Mitterrand, the independent left-winger who took 45 per cent of the vote in the run-off presidential balloting against General de Gaulle a year ago.

In the first round of the last legislative elections, in November, 1962, the Gaullists received 32 per cent of the nearly 10 million votes cast, the Com-

munist almost 22 per cent, the Socialist 12.5 per cent, the Radicals 4.7 per cent and a centrist got 15 per cent. The remaining votes went mostly to conservative groups, most of which are now likely to vote Gaullist.

The first part of the new agreement is a common platform that notes the points on which the parties agree, acknowledging that they disagree on others. They agree, for instance, in their opposition to "one-man rule," but not on the more fundamental point of what form of government France should have.

The second part of the agreement provides for the withdrawal of candidates in next spring's elections. In the first-round balloting, on March 5, the Communists and the Federation will have their own separate candidates in most of the 485 constituencies.

There is no rule for narrowing the field to two contestants in the second round, a week later. But if two leftists stay in the running against a Gaullist, they risk giving the election to the Gaullist. Thus the agreement establishes conditions for one or the other of the leftists to pull out.

Third Part Called Vital

The third part of the agreement goes beyond next year's elections and is being interpreted as the most important. Its essential point is that the Communists and the Federation should continue to work together.

The Communists have been champions of unity for some time. Mr. Mitterrand has wanted to link the Federation with the Communists, but not so closely that the unity would seem to mean the formation of a Communist dominated left.

Within the Federation, some Radical party members feel that they should be making alliances with the political center and not with the far left. Another group of young politicians and professionals who call themselves the Jean Moulin Club have joined the Federation but recently published an angry criticism of any link to the Communists.

The Communists themselves evidently have internal dissension. French Communism, basically pro-Moscow, also has its elements distrustful of any alliance.

There are also hold-outs. The small Unified Socialist party is the absent organized leftist group, but more notable is Pierre Mendis-France, the former Premier who is campaigning to get back into active politics as a Deputy from Grenoble.

The new pact was announced in the small hours this morning at the end of a meeting that began late yesterday afternoon. It was the third meeting in a week. There were only about a dozen participants, and they have been very discreet about what went on.

The public announcement of the text was delayed to permit review by members of both groups' leadership who were not present.

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HOW POPULAR A FRONT?

Is a French Popular Front really in the making? The agreement signed a fortnight ago between the communists and M. MITTERRAND's Federation of the Left was little more than an arrangement for working together in the March parliamentary elections. But in his address to the Communist Party Congress yesterday M. WALDECK ROCHET, the secretary-general, made it clear that he is looking beyond this ploy. The aim of the party remained the establishment of a political programme common to the whole left, he told the delegates.

That is a good deal more than has been achieved up to now, though last month's agreement did look forward to the long-term objectives of the left. Much will obviously depend upon the success of this initial arrangement. What are the chances?

The failure to reach agreement on more than a few items of policy need not be a fatal handicap at this stage. M. MITTERRAND certainly benefited from his arrangement with the communists when he ran for the presidency against GENERAL DE GAULLE just over a year ago—even though he differed from them on a number of questions, particularly on foreign policy. Norway has shown how four separate parties with their own individual programmes can win an election and go on to form an effective coalition government.

Political leaders often find it difficult, however, to gain the ardour of their followers for a mere marriage of convenience. The present pact is no more than that, and it may be significant that M. ROCHET was at pains to justify it to doubters in the party yesterday. May not some communist voters prefer Gaullists to candidates of the left who speak in Atlantic terms? And may not some other left-wing voters be driven by fear of the communists either to M. LECANUET's Democratic Centre or even to the Gaullists?

Above all, how well will the leaders themselves work together when it comes to the point? M. MITTERRAND and his colleagues have preserved their freedom of action to support Centre candidates, provided they are really opposed to DE GAULLE, when they seem to have the best chance of defeating the Gaullist. Here is an obvious source of potential strife.

All in all, the March election may reveal not so much an old-style Popular Front as a clearer division than before between the right-wing, the Gaullist centre, and left.

Gaullist Opposition to Peking's Isolation

Gains European Support

By HAROLD KING JAPAN TIMES

6 January 1967

PARIS (Kyodo-Reuters) —

With an ambassador installed in Peking the French Government is pursuing a discreet but assiduous campaign to bring China into the concert of nations even if it cannot bring it into the United Nations Organization.

The latest evidence of this was an appeal to parliamentary representatives from the seven Western European Union nations to "treat the China of (Chairman) Mao like a civilized community."

This plea came from a French Gaullist member of the national assembly, Col. Pierre Bourgoin, who has close contact with President de Gaulle, at a meeting of the parliamentary assembly of the Western European Union on last Dec. 13.

"With her present mentality," said Col. Bourgoin, "China is a danger to peace. If there is any means of warding off this danger, it certainly is not to be found in piling up ever more armaments, because China will also acquire the frightful possibility of destroying the world, not to safeguard herself but in order not to perish alone."

No Isolation for China

While keeping its own nuclear powder dry, the West had every interest, Col. Bourgoin claimed, "in helping China out of her isolation, because that is the only way left open to us to promote any reassuring development of China's mentality."

His report was endorsed by the members of parliament present from Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. Gordon Walker, former British Foreign Secretary, considered the report was "more Chinese than the Chinese", but agreed that its observations on China were "just and penetrating."

Gen. De Gaulle's approach to China is that, however difficult, the aim must be to be on speaking terms with this huge country and to draw Peking into the normal diplomatic circle of the world, because, in the late Sir Winston Churchill's words "jaw-jaw is better than war-war."

Hostile to Mao

In the French Communist Party camp, however, feeling

any "jaw-jaw" between their party officials and pro-Chinese Communist groups which have sprung up in the larger industrial towns and in the universities.

The Communist Party newspaper, L'Humanite, published on Dec. 14 a long letter from a party member, well-known in Lyons, who is employed in the Berliet car factory there.

This letter reads like a James Bond serial. In it, comrade Louis Faradoux (Communist Party membership card No. 186,455) reports how he was wooed and enticed by Chinese who were on the factory floor as experts from Peking in connection with a Chinese order for 1,500 lorries.

Having won the confidence of these Chinese, reports comrade Faradoux, he was invited by a Chou Hsiang-chi to join some pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist clubs with a view to spreading pro-Chinese sympathies in the factories.

But worse was to come.

Faradoux's Story

"They offered me money to betray the party," reports comrade Faradoux. "Chou told me that they were prepared to cope with the financial difficulties of all kinds, which my activities would involve."

At this point, comrade Faradoux considered that things had gone far enough. So he reported everything to his party superiors.

The number of Chinese from Peking temporarily working at the Berliet plant at Venissieux, near Lyons, is only 14, a company representative explained. They are due to return to Peking by the end of 1966, he added.

Yet the French Communist Party has seen fit to make a big issue of the relations between this small band of Chinese Communists and some members of the French orthodox party.

This is generally assumed here to reflect the customary alignment of French Communist Party line with that of Moscow. But it may also reflect nervousness of the party lest the young, who are not flooding into the Party camp, however, feeling the revolution is a long way off, of the Tse-tung is hostile. The party leaders are definitely against attractive, pro-Chinese Communists more

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French Left Unites, in a Way

By RICHARD E. MOONEY
Special to The New York Times

Paris, Jan. 7 — The French Communists met this week for their 18th party Congress. They had a new look.

Their meeting hall was a smartly styled gymnasium in the industrial suburb of Levallois — well lighted and ventilated, and not a militant slogan in sight. A large adjacent room was temporarily made over as a gallery of modern art, with hardly a trace of the old "socialist realism."

The visible newness was symbolic and intentional. Not three weeks ago the party made an alliance with France's non-Communist left to fight together against the Gaullists in the National Assembly elections in March. Their historic pact put an end to two decades of Communist isolation as the untouchables of French politics.

The Communists are the second most powerful party here, after President de Gaulle's Union for the New Republic. They polled 20 per cent of the vote in the last Assembly elections, five years ago, and they hold 41 of the Assembly's 487 seats. (This is a smaller percentage than their popular vote because seats are contested by districts.) There are Communist mayors in Le Havre and more than 200 other smaller cities and towns, including 60 suburbs of Paris.

Because of the Communists' strength the Government must accommodate them from time to time. General de Gaulle's flirtation with Moscow is at least partly motivated by this. But fundamentally they have lacked national respectability since the cold war began. Members of the broad coalition that ruled France at the end of World War II, they were kicked out in 1947 and have remained out.

Even today the Communists are far away from full acceptance. The Gaullists count on frightening

a substantial slice of the electorate into voting for the status quo by asserting that the choice is between Gaullism and Communism.

The non-Communist center and right, of course, will have nothing to do with the Communists at all. And, most significantly, the new left-wing alliance is itself a cautious arrangement, decidedly less solid than the left-wing Popular Front that actually held power in the mid-1930's.

At that time, the two senior partners of the coalition, Léon Blum's Socialists and Edouard Herriot's powerful Radical Socialists, were for a time unconditional allies of the Communists, then led by Maurice Thorez, in an alliance cemented by the fierceness of attacks against it from the right and center.

Undoubtedly, the constitution of today's alliance has been facilitated by the general détente between East and West that gradually developed since the Khrushchev era and the ensuing more relaxed view of Communism taken in most of Europe. This evolution has been furthered by General de Gaulle's recent overtures toward the East.

The new arrangement links the Communists to the nine-month old Federation of the Democratic-Socialist Left. The Federation is the big Socialist party, the once big but now small Radical party, and a collection of left-wing political groups.

The Federation's leader is François Mitterrand, the man who ran second in the Presidential elections 13 months ago. He shares his influence, though, with Guy Mollet, the ex-Premier who heads the Socialists, and there are various interpretations as to which one has been really the more influential in shaping the new alliance with the Communists. In fact, neither one is rated as a strongman.

The alliance started taking shape in late 1965, when the Communists decided not to run a Presidential candidate of their own and to support Mr. Mitterrand.

Different Goals

The Communists, seeking a place in the main stream, were the principal protagonists, but they wanted more than they got. The Federation, seeking voting strength, was hesitant, and is still not committed to support those Communist candidates whom they judge incapable of winning. In short, the Communists want a militant left while the Federation wants a winning coalition.

The Communists and the Federation will each run a complete slate of candidates in the first round of the Assembly elections, on March 5, and they have only a conditional agreement to get out of each other's way for the second round, a week later. They have issued a common communiqué on the points of policy which they commonly support — largely domestic — but they acknowledge that in some essential respects, such as NATO, they disagree.

Thus the alliance as constituted is incomplete. Also, there are still some other small left-wing factions outside it, notably the Unified Socialist party whose star is Pierre Mendes-France, and a splinter of pro-Chinese defectors from the pro-Moscow main body of the Communists. In addition to the left there is the non-left opposition — the Democratic Center of Jean Lecanuet, who placed third in the Presidential race, plus other smaller groups to the right.

It is not expected, nor seriously claimed, that out of all this the new alliance could pull off a majority victory. It is not even certain whether it will increase or reduce its composite strength, though the assumption is an increase.

President de Gaulle's eight years in office have stabilized French politics, but have not clarified them. He has consolidated a strong majority. The frustrated minorities are only now, beginning to try to achieve the same kind of consolidation.

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LONDON OBSERVER

8 January 1967

French boost for Popular Front

by MARK FRANKLAND

THE EIGHTEENTH Congress of the French Communist Party, which ends this evening, has more to celebrate than just the party's return to the thick of French political life through its new alliance with the non-Communist Left.

It can also celebrate the most important success to date of the Popular Front policy blessed by Moscow as long ago as 1956.

This policy reflects the interests of both the Soviet Union and the European Communist Parties. Moscow, scarcely expecting to see Communist Governments in West Europe in the near future, would like to have instead strong left-wing blocs that included the Communists. Such blocs could be expected to be generally neutralist, anti-American, anti-NATO and in favour of East-West *détente*.

Breakaway parties

The Western Communist Parties themselves have at last accepted that they must abandon some of their rigid exclusiveness if they are to survive. For example, in Norway and Denmark breakaway Marxist parties can capture an increasing number of votes while the orthodox Communist rumps decline.

It nevertheless is still easier to propose than to practise the new Popular Front-ism. The British Communist Party, at its congress in November 1965, expressly criticised its old guard members who still maintain that the Labour Party is no

different from a capitalist party. And it supported a 'broad militant alliance' of the British Left.

The trouble here is that the British Communists are arguing from a position of weakness, since the Labour Party has no need of them. Similarly, in the Austrian elections last year, indirect Communist support damaged the Austrian Socialist Party.

In France, however, the huge strength of President de Gaulle has made M. Mitterrand's Federation of the Democratic Socialist Left more amenable to Communist advances.

More gentle

The effects of this policy on the Western European parties must eventually be considerable. Alterations to Marxist-Leninist theory are already being discussed by Communists in France and elsewhere. At the moment, this has not gone far and the French party and M. Mitterrand have completely failed to agree on a common political programme. But there are already signs of rethinking too radical to be easily accepted either by the Soviet Union or by conservative European party members.

For example, discussion about the possibility of a multi-party system under Communism is no longer taboo. The key theory of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is being interpreted in a more gentle way.

Ironically, the conservative-minded European Communists may be tempted to join the pro-Chinese splinter parties, where all such new ideas are comfortably dismissed as 'revisionist'.

March Election Turmoil Grows

French Politics Yields Shockers

By Waverley Root

Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, Jan. 18—Political pressures building up toward the March 5 legislative elections produced two shocks to French tradition today.

One looked like a governmental attempt to restrict the opposition's right to free assembly; it died quickly. The other was the release of a public opinion poll by the Communist Party, which usually plays its cards much closer to its chest.

The extreme right-wing newspaper *Aurore* and the intellectual leftist *Combat* both revealed today that the City of Paris had refused three political parties the use of the Palais des Sports, the only hall suitable for political mass meetings. The three were Sen. Jean Lecanuet's Democratic Centrists, the Communists, and former Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's Independent Republicans, who are allied with the Gaullists.

The reason given for refusing the parties the hall was that the police had claimed they would not have sufficient men to handle such large gatherings. Yet the Gaullists had been given the hall for Jan. 31. The explanation was that the police expected to be overtaxed after the official campaign begins Feb. 12; the three opposition dates were Feb. 14, 16 and 27.

As soon as the news was out, the Interior Ministry denied it. The explanation was that the architectural committee of the city had acted without consulting higher authority in a routine desire to protect municipal property. The meetings have now been rescheduled.

Observers also suspect the opposition is getting the short end of the stick in a decision to divide radio and television time for the campaign 50-50 between government and opposition. Since the government is relatively strong, the opposition numbers have been halving since the beginning of the campaign. The action was designed to head off politically embarrassing labor

When parliamentary leaders split up the 90 minutes each side is allotted for political argument, the Gaullists got 78 minutes of the government's share and the Giscard d'Estaing group, 12. The opposition split its share 24 minutes for Lecanuet's group, 17 for the Democratic Front, 30 for the Socialists and 19 for the Communists.

The Communist poll was taken by the neutral French Institute of Public Opinion. Of those questioned, 51 per cent found the Party's actions since 1944 useful, and only 21 per cent found them harmful. Forty percent favor Communist ministers in the government, 24 per cent are opposed, and 27 per cent think it makes no difference.

Asked whether Communist or Western countries will be more powerful militarily 20 years from now, 32 per cent said the Communists and 18 per cent the West.

On future scientific and technical superiority, 28 per cent think the Communists will be ahead, 24 per cent think the West will; 52 per cent think Western countries will have a higher standard of living and only 11 per cent think the Communists will.

A majority believed the Communists, Socialists and Centrists will gain ground in France in the next 10 years, while the Gaullists and the extreme right will lose.

On the important issues in the March elections, 32 per cent of the voters think the standard of living comes first; 22 per cent gave economic development of France priority; 19 per cent named the defense of liberties, 12 per cent stability of government (a favorite Gaullist theme), and only 7 per cent the role of France in the world.

[UPI reported that the government announced it would grant advances on future wage increases to public employees beginning Feb. 1. The action was designed to head off politically embarrassing labor

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NEW YORK TIMES
9 January 1967

FRENCH REDS LAUD DE GAULLE ON WAR

Communist Conference Also
Forms New Election Tie

By RICHARD E. MOONEY
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Jan. 8—France's Communists concluded their 18th party congress today with a strong denunciation of Peking, restrained praise for President de Gaulle, and announcement of another new political pact for the coming French elections.

The official theme of the five-day congress was more domestic than international — generally building up for the National Assembly elections in March, and specifically celebrating last month's historic agreement to wage the campaign in concert with most of France's non-Communist left.

But there were frequent references to the war in Vietnam, the Chinese-Soviet split and a world conference of Communist parties. The final resolution called for the convocation of such a conference "as promptly as possible."

Of China the resolution said: "The party condemns the current Chinese leaders who are breaking, in every respect, with Marxism-Leninism and with the rules of behavior for Communist parties."

It said that "the activities of denigration and division" by Peking's leaders were an argument in favor of a world conference.

The resolution praised General De Gaulle "without hesitation" for his improvement of Paris-Moscow relations and for his attitude on the Vietnam war. But in the same sentence the party said that it remained opposed to "the seriously negative aspects" of his foreign policy — on disarmament, for instance.

It explained that the few aspects did not result from great statesmanship but from "contradictions between capitalist countries, accentuated by the change in the world balance of power."

The announcement of another new anti-Gaullist political pact was made by the party chairman, Waldeck Rochet, in a speech to the final session of the congress. The Communists' newest ally is the Unified Socialist party, a small party that had taken the position that the larger left-wing alliance established last month was dominated by old dogmas and thus too soft.

Junked to Federation

Last month's alliance linked

the Communists with the inner-month-old Federation of the Left, which embraces the socialist and radical parties and a number of smaller groups that call themselves conventions and clubs.

The Communists' arrangements with both the federation and the Unified Socialists provides that each will run its own candidates in the first-round vote and that the candidates who trail in this ballot will then, in most circumstances, withdraw from the run-off in favor of those who did better. The federation itself is trying to work out a similar deal with the Unified Socialists.

The party congress ended its business with the election of the Central Committee. Eight former members did not run for re-election, and 11 new members were added.

North Vietnam Runs Guerrilla School for Thais

The North Vietnamese regime has been operating a secret guerrilla warfare school for Thais for the past four or five years. One training school near Hanoi gives an eight-month course; other establishments for indoctrination of Thai farmers have been located in China and in Pathet Lao-held territory in Laos.

A young Thai farmer revealed details of the school near Hanoi at a press conference in Bangkok in mid-October. Like many other Thais he had gone to North Vietnam, not knowing that he was to be given guerrilla instruction. He had joined the "Farmers' Liberation Party" at the behest of a man from another Thai province, not realizing that this "Party" was a Communist front organization. Through this organization, he was offered a chance to go abroad to study, and he accepted this offer, hoping to receive medical training. The man who had induced him to join the "Farmers' Liberation Party" conducted him and four others from Thailand into Laos. There they were met and guided by Pathet Lao or Vietnamese soldiers. After 18 days of travel the group reached Hanoi, and proceeded to the training school.

Our Thai farmer was given eight months of training in Communist doctrine and guerrilla warfare. A political course instructed the trainees in methods of persuasion to use to get villagers to "join the revolution" and the regular courses were reinforced by enforced listening to the clandestine "Voice of the People of Thailand," as well as to Hanoi radio. 130 Thais attended the school while the farmer was there; most of them were laborers and peasants from the south, middle and northeasterly sections of Thailand. The group included 18 women. Trainees were paid in Vietnamese currency at a monthly rate equivalent to 120 Thai baht. On leaving, they received a pair of pants and a final payment of 400 baht. The farmer said that he was in the fourth group of trainees, and since the school had been set up four or five years ago, his information indicates that there are by now a sizable number of potential guerrillas in Thailand, trained by Hanoi. They return to Thailand in the way they come, via Laos; the instructors tell them that they will be given instructions by the liberation movement after they reach home.

In the case of this farmer, the indoctrination failed. On arriving home in March 1966, he told his parents what had happened, and on their advice he gave himself up to the Thai police. Even before he got back to Thailand, he related, he had known that the Communists were trying to use him as a tool. Also, he had no desire to endanger his life for the sake of Communism.

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January 14, 1967

Outlawed Thai Communist Party Links Itself to China-Based 'Front'

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Thai Communist Party has for the first time associated itself publicly with the "Thailand Popular Front," the insurgency movement welded together last year under the sponsorship of China and North Vietnam. The Thai Communist Party Hanoi and Peking.

And for the first time the Thai Party has broadcast an appeal in its own name on the clandestine radio station regularly used by the Front. The station is thought to be near Kunming in southern China.

The Thai Communist Party, outlawed in Thailand, is small and in exile or underground, and its leaders, are unidentified. Some observers saw its new move as an effort to broaden its base and to control at least part of the action in northeast Thailand, focus of the insurgency.

The Front has not previously claimed or recognized the Communist affiliation that its opponents have continuously alleged, although Party documents are said to have been discovered among Front material captured in the northeast.

All sides agree that the insurgents are Thais. Their opponents say, however, the in-

surgency is directed from Hanoi and Peking. The Western consensus is that the insurgency is bothersome but not serious, because Thailand lacks the history of foreign domination which has nourished nationalism — and communism — elsewhere in Asia.

The Communist Party statement was issued on its 24th anniversary last Dec. 1 but became known only through a broadcast to the northeast last Saturday. The broadcast was monitored here.

In saluting the Front, the Communist Party did not claim formal affiliation or control. It said it had "welcomed with joy" the Front's formation last year and it expressed "satisfaction" at the Front's "rapid development."

"We want to make known here also that we are ready at any time to cooperate with any group of patriots in the struggle to drive the Americans out the country and overthrow the Thanom-Praphat (government) clique," the Party said.

Scoring the Soviet Union, the Thai Party statement urged study of Mao Tse-tung's "thought" and also his "guerrilla warfare tactics."

Article: Thais Counter Subversion

by Gordon Tate

Thailand has strengthened her internal security against the threat of Chinese-inspired subversion by local Communists. The Thai Government's measures include the provision of more up-to-date weapons, communication equipment, and river craft to patrol the Mekong River which for 500 miles forms the border between Thailand and Laos.

It has stepped up the social welfare programme. Plans have been put in hand for "self-help" villages in the more fertile and much less populated south: the first group of 100 families is now settled in Narathiwat Province. Both in the south and north-east, mobile development teams visit outlying villages offering practical assistance in farming, education, and public health. The government's experiment with sending young "Peace Corps" type workers (known as Rural Development Volunteers) to under-developed areas has proved so successful that a new batch was called up in August.

Communist ambitions became obvious in 1964 with the creation of a united front organisation - the "Thailand Independence Movement" (TIM). In 1965, it joined a similar group, the self-styled "Thailand Patriotic Front" (TPF), accepting its leadership. Both have been exhorting the people of Thailand to overthrow the government and replace it with a "neutralist" coalition comprising "all patriotic parties in the country" - generally the first step in a Communist bid for power.

Both "fronts" are backed by China, North Vietnam, the Communist-dominated Pathet Lao movement in Laos, and the "South Vietnam National Liberation Front."

One of the TIM messages - reported by the New China News Agency on November 2, 1966 - appeal to the Thai people to be ready at any time to "take up arms and unhesitatingly plunge into the glorious people's war" against "imperialism and its Thai running dogs." It further called for "unreserved support and help" to what it described as "the people's armed forces," meaning the Communist terrorists.

For years China has been infiltrating guerrillas and agents into Thailand through Laos and Burma. The main target for subversion has been the north-east which is separated from South China by only 200 miles of Pathet Lao-held territory, and where the hill tribes are the same on both sides of the Thai-Burmese border. Communist guerrillas, an official Thai statement revealed, are armed with the latest Chinese rifles and automatic weapons.

NOTE: Gordon Tate is also a journalist and a lecturer on international affairs, who worked for many years in the Middle and Far East.

(Cont.)

Armed clashes in the north-east between Security forces and terrorists have recently increased, as have the quantities of arms smuggled in. On November 14, it was stated in Bangkok that during a search operation in the jungle of Nakhon Phanom Province six policemen were killed and another three wounded. Two days earlier a police sergeant was killed during a similar encounter in the neighbouring province of Sakol Nakhon.

Another area of terrorist operations is the mid-south: a third consists of what is known as Thailand's Deep South; in particular the four predominantly Muslim provinces of Songkhla, Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat.

In the Deep South, the challenge to stability comes from the remnants of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), whose terrorists are living in jungle camps on the Thai-Malaysian border. The MCP is a predominantly Chinese movement and has its main base in the Betong salient - a strip of Thai territory extending into Northern Malaysia, from which the terrorists operate further afield.

MCP tactics include anti-government propaganda, indoctrination meetings in villages, abduction, blackmail and extortion. MCP agents collect "taxes" from the intimidated local peasantry, and many plantation owners have been compelled to pay monthly "protection money."

A Bangkok report last July revealed that captured documents had established "close co-ordination" between the guerrillas in the north-east and those in the south.

Non-violent agitation has also been fostered by the MCP or Thai Communist Party (TCP) and TIM and TPF.

In the Deep South, the MCP has been encouraging a separatist movement in the Muslim provinces by holding out the prospect of their union with Malaysia "once Thailand has been brought under Communist control." Even religion is used to achieve the same object. The Far Eastern Economic Review has quoted Thai Minister of the Interior, General Prapas Charusathira, as stating that "malcontents" in the area had abused Islam for their own ends, claiming it was against this religion to learn the Thai language.

Communists rounded up by the authorities not long ago included a rubber planter, the manager of a bull-ring, and seven members of a shadow-play ensemble - a popular open-air entertainment given by artists travelling from village to village. The company had performed plays containing Communist propaganda.

CPYRGHT

Bangkok Post

An Independent Newspaper

BANGKOK, FRIDAY DECEMBER 2, 1966

STUDENTS TRAINED IN HANOI RETURNEES TELL OF TERRORIST SCHOOL

by Post reporters

AT LEAST SIX Thammasat University graduates are among young Thais who have been trained in Hanoi for subversive activities and fighting Thai Government forces, two returnees from Hanoi revealed yesterday.

The returnees were arrested in Ban Nah Kham, Tambol Sawat, Amphur Leung Noke Tha, Ubol, by police, they told a press conference at the Public Relations Department auditorium.

The captives had lived in the same village, each without knowing the other was working for the communists until they were netted in a police round-up.

One, Boon Prakob, 25, had returned to Thailand in 1963 after eight months in Bani, while the other, Sod Netra, 18, returned four days before his arrest.

The interview was conducted by Pichai Wasanasong, well-known television personality. Questions were fired by Thai press representatives and foreign correspondents. Pichai translated for the correspondents.

Both returnees said they met a number of young men and women from Central Thailand including Bangkok.

These Central Thailand youths, they said, had returned, to this country. Trainees who are believed to be known to the authorities have been sent to operate in other parts of the country while those who are believed to be unknown to the authorities have been sent back to Bangkok mainly in the field of propaganda.

Boon and Sod said the youths from the central provinces seemed intelligent.

Boon, the seventh of nine children of a farm family in Ban Na Kham, said he had been recruited by Noo Pompid, a friend in the same village. Noo told him: "Thailand has been colonised by the United States" and asked him to help "liberate" Thailand.

Noo said Boon would be taught an occupation "abroad."

Telling his parents that he was going on a trip but not saying where, Boon left with five companions for North Vietnam. The group made its way by bus to Sakol Nakorn and Beungkan in Nongkhai. It crossed the Mekong River at Paknam-krading for Laos.

Six Pathet Lao soldiers welcomed them on the other shore. They travelled on foot 20 days until they reached Vinh in North Vietnam. After two months in Vinh, the group went to Hanoi.

They were taken to a school in Hoa Binh, about 80 kilometres from Hanoi. The school, consisting of three buildings, was surrounded by hills.

Boon met 60 Thai students, including 14 women. About 10 students, mostly women, had come from Bangkok. There were also students who had come from the Southern provinces.

The students did not know each other's real name. Boon himself was given the code-name "Term." The students were forbidden to ask about each other's background.

There were five instructors, most of them Vietnamese able to speak Thai. The director was named Binh. Boon expressed belief that Binh was Thai who knew the Chinese language.

Each student was given a wage of 30 dong (approximately 200 baht) each month.

Boon said he was given political indoctrination and taught handling of weapons.

When he returned to Thailand,

CPYRGHT

he was given 600 baht and told to start giving firearms training to villagers joining the "liberation" movement.

He claimed to have trained only five villagers in firearms.

Noo, the man who recruited him, asked him to go into the jungle, saying he was on the police list. However, Boon refused to go.

Boon said he did not want to go because if he went into the jungle he would die. He was not arrested until a year later.

Boon claimed he did not obey regulations. For example, he said, he married secretly, although he had been ordered not to marry until he had obtained permission from the leader.

Noo, Boon said, was acting under orders of a Vietnamese, and is now in the jungles with a Communist band.

Meanwhile, Sod, the eldest of seven children of a family, said that he had been indoctrinated by a man named "Kaew" from the same village.

"Kaew" told him the United States has sent large numbers of troops to Thailand to take over the country and land had been taken from farmers to build an airfield.

Sod said he was a "patriot" and wanted to "liberate" his country, but now he has learned he had been a "patriot in the wrong sense of the word."

Sod said he was given communist literature to read.

When asked to go to Hanoi, he agreed. He left his house on March 9, 1966, after telling his parents he was going on a journey.

He went to Laos by way of Nakorn Phanom, he said, and was received on the Laotian bank by five Lao soldiers. He stayed at a Pathet Lao camp for two days. When he arrived in Hanoi he was admitted into the hospital there for treatment of malaria he had caught while walking through the jungles.

After 20 days in the hospital, Sod went to Hoa Binh to attend the "Communist Thailand School." It was the same school to which Boon had gone.

He met 120 students from various parts of Thailand, including 18 women. Sod used the code-name "Yue."

The school was hit by bombs during a US air raid, he said.

The students were removed to a new school 25 kilometres away.

After eight months of training, Sod returned home on April 20. He was arrested four days later, before he started any activity.

He said he did not know what had happened to "Kaew," who was at home at the time of the police raid. He did not know if "Kaew" had been arrested.

Sod claimed to be a Buddhist.

The Communists, he said, "told me that religion is an opiate, making people believe only in virtue and sin, and making them forget suffering. Religion is all lies."

Asked if he would like to take up the Buddhist monkhood, Sod hesitated for a few seconds, and then said: "I would like to."

Both Boon and Sod said they were only members of the Farmers Liberation Movement and not yet members of the Communist Party. They said they were told they would have to work hard to become members of the Communist Party.

Did Sod still want to join the Communist Party?

"If I were still with them, I would want to become a member," Sod replied.

What activity had they carried out among the people?

They said they were told to work among poor people, hired farm hands and tenant farmers.

They said they were to tell the farmers the Government was not taking care of them, and they should unite to overthrow the Government so they would have tractors for farming and would not be poor.

The weapons used in their training, Boon said, were carbines.

Boon said, however, there had been no battles with the authorities but some officials and informers in neighbouring villages had been assassinated.

He estimated that in his village of 400 people about 40 per cent were Communists, although he did not know who they were since he was allowed to know only one or two.

Boon and Sod had been given instructions by their leaders to deny all charges when arrested and not to give away any secrets.

Boon was asked what he had been told about the time the revolution to "liberate" the farmers would start and end.

"I was told that there cannot be a definite schedule," he said. "The revolution can go on for 20 to 30 years."

Boon and Sod said they were also told about the fighting in North Vietnam and Laos and that this fighting was the same as the fighting in Thailand. They were told these were people's wars.

An official said the Government is still considering what to do with

Boon and Sod. They may be prosecuted in court, but because of their cooperation in giving information during interrogation this may be considered in their favour for leniency.

In introducing Boon and Sod, Pichai recalled that last October 13 a defector, Porn Panna, gave an interview on his recruitment and training in Hanoi.

On October 24, the clandestine radio station, "Voice of the Thai People," alleged that there was no such person as Porn Panna and that the Thai Government fabricated the whole story about him, Pichai said.

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LATIN AMERICA:

Subversive Misuse of Universities

25X1C10b

SITUATION: In the course of 1966 universities in five Latin American countries were invaded by the security forces of their governments, in most cases in order to put an end to student-inspired violence. The countries were Colombia, Mexico, Argentina, Peru and Venezuela. For Latin America this is a much more serious act than for most other areas of the world since in that region there is a long-standing tradition of university "autonomy" which in some cases has grown to the point of giving the university almost extraterritorial status. The governing councils of the universities -- composed of representatives of students, faculty and graduates -- have acquired the prerogatives of hiring and firing of the entire university staff, including the rector (President), establishment of the curriculum, disbursement of all funds, even exclusive control over policing the university grounds. The only role left to the state is providing the funds.

While the concept of university autonomy partly originated with the laudable objective of protecting the universities from unwarranted political interference by the governments in such academic matters as curriculum, staffing, and teaching (still a matter of honest concern in many countries), it has been perverted in too many cases to other ends. Specifically, political agitators have long taken advantage of the facilities which university autonomy offers for political, propaganda and even paramilitary action. Before the Second World War these agitators were most often Fascists. Since the war they have been most often Communists and other leftist radical groups. The result has been not only to "politicize" the universities to an inordinate degree, but also to so lower academic standards that Latin America's needs for well-educated university graduates are not met. At the same time university autonomy has acquired an almost mythical sanctity which has prevented governments from taking the necessary steps to depoliticize them and turn them toward their true educational purpose.

Therefore the governmental interventions during 1966 and the evident approval of these actions by the people are essentially welcome steps in slaughtering the sacred cow of absolute university autonomy. We wish to draw on these events in order to encourage the governments involved to consolidate their gains and to encourage other nations faced with similar problems to take remedial action.

The Central University of Venezuela (UCV) in Caracas was a prime example of the gross perversion of university autonomy. Its dormitories housed students, bandits, and guerrillas indiscriminately. Its chemistry

laboratories were used to produce explosives for Communist terrorists, its cellars and attics were caches for weapons of all sorts. Terrorists committed their crimes and then headed full speed for the university campus. If they made it, they were "in free," since policemen in pursuit were not allowed on campus. One student was working his way through college by renting out an armored Volkswagen to student guerrillas.

In December 1966 the Venezuelan government finally invaded the campus to rid it of criminals and weapons. In so doing the government announced that henceforth university autonomy would mean academic freedom and autonomy and not immunity from the nation's criminal statutes. Happily, and somewhat to everyone's surprise, the government's actions received overwhelming public approval.

25X1C10b

January 1967

Turmoil in the Universities

Although the Communists have attempted to establish footholds among the peasants, workers, and students of Latin America, it is only among the latter that they have had any widespread success. It has been largely the university students who have supplied the troops for both urban and rural guerrilla forces. In Venezuela, for instance, the universities provided up to 80% of the guerrilla fighters in the countryside, the urban terrorists, even the money and equipment. During the past year this militancy has obliged various governments of Latin America to take stringent measures against the university students, including temporarily closing several universities, and sending the police into others to put down rioting and lawlessness.

Over the past year or so students in Mexico caused the downfall of the rectors of the University of Baja California, the University of Sinaloa, and even the Autonomous National University of Mexico in the country's capital. There have been less dramatic student strikes at other universities around the country. Student agitation in Durango in the summer of 1966 caused the downfall of the state governor. Demonstrations which built up from August into October 1966 in the town of Morelia, where the university of Michoacan state is located, were also aimed at overthrowing the governor there.

On 8 October 1966 Mexican paratroopers and cavalry moved into Morelia, violating the customarily-immune territory of the University of San Nicolas de Hidalgo, to quell growing student riots and sabotage. The student protests had begun in August 1966 with attempts by certain students to extort free student tickets from the proprietors of the Morelia sport stadium and cinemas. In September, when the local bus company announced fare increases, students demanded a contribution from the company in exchange for foregoing protest demonstrations against the increase. However when fares were raised the students commenced rioting which resulted in the death of a student. The student's death was then used as a basis for demanding the ouster of the Michoacan state governor. When student groups attempted to sabotage two city power plants, and after increased instances of vandalism and organized terrorism against Morelia merchants, the Government of Mexico sent troops into the university grounds to end the disturbances.

The governor issued a statement denouncing non-university and extra-Michoacan groups for their involvement in the riots. These groups included professional Communist agitators, some of whom had spent years in the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Communist China receiving training in subversion and guerrilla warfare. Mexican officials showed to the press samples of Communist Chinese and Cuban political and guerrilla training literature found in all six student houses at San Nicolas University.

In Colombia student rioting has provoked sharp reactions from the government of President Carlos Lleras Restrepo. The first major act of his government after he took office on 7 August 1966 was a decree that

students would be required to attend 80 percent of their classes and that days missed because of participation in strikes would be counted as triple absences. This move was provoked by a prolonged strike at the University of Antioquia in Medellin. At the end of August the university was closed for the remainder of the semester.

On 24 October President Lleras Restrepo was attacked by a stone-throwing mob of about 100 students when he appeared on the campus of the National University in Bogota to inaugurate a new veterinary science building. Furious over this act of anarchy and the open disrespect for the office of the nation's president, Lleras Restrepo ordered Army troops onto the university grounds to disperse the rioters.

Subsequently the Colombian government issued three stringent anti-subversive decrees. The new laws state that anyone "linked to subversive activities" can be held under house arrest, that subversive publications can be banned and the property of their publishers confiscated, that travel to Cuba is forbidden, and that the student council at National University is suspended. The decrees affirm the legal right of the police and soldiers to enter the university grounds to preserve order. They also provide severe punishment for stone-throwing, impeding traffic, and baiting policemen. President Lleras left no doubt about his determination to implement the decrees. In a radio speech to the nation on 27 October he said: "The group of extremists that has dominated the university because of the cowardice of some, the neglect of others, and the indifference of the majority, is trying to distort the facts, to present them with ill will... But they have not been able to conceal the truth... The law will be abided by, and we will not allow riots to hold sway for even a minute. ...Whenever any crime is attempted in the university, the authorities will again enter it and enforce the law... I want to convey to the country -- which is why I emphasized my words -- that the government will indeed preserve public peace, tranquillity, and freedom of expression and thought, over and against all fanaticisms and conspiracies."

A third and final example of lawlessness in the universities may be found in Venezuela, where the Central University of Caracas has long been notorious as a base for the guerrillas and terrorists who have plagued the nation for years. In fact the guerrilla movement in Venezuela has largely been defeated by the government. The turning point came in late 1963 when the Communist forces were unable to make good their threat to prevent elections. By the summer of 1966 Communist violence had been reduced to sporadic instances of terrorism against undefended targets and the orthodox Communist leadership had decided to abandon the hopeless armed struggle and shift to political activity. However a small hard core of terrorists obtained renewed support from Castro and launched a new wave of violence in the last months of 1966. In mid-December the chief of staff of the Venezuelan army was wounded in a terrorist attack and a lawyer for the Defense Ministry was assassinated. Determined to put an end to the lawlessness, President Raul Leoni ordered the army to

occupy the University campus, to search it thoroughly for guerrilla weapons and documents, and to arrest known criminals and guerrilla leaders hiding on university grounds. The result was a thorough sweep of the university which produced a considerable number of weapons, from dynamite to machineguns, plates for counterfeiting paper money, military clothing, radio transmitters, Cuban instruction manuals for sabotage and guerrilla warfare, and large quantities of passports, identification cards and other documents. The university was closed until mid-February 1967 and the student dormitories were converted to classrooms. President Leoni, in a hard-hitting speech to congress on 16 December, stated that the extra territorial status of Venezuelan universities would henceforth be ended, though the educational and administrative autonomy of the universities would be protected.

Significantly the strong actions taken against the universities in Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela have all met with strong popular approval. It is evident that the people of those countries will no longer tolerate a situation in which a small segment of the population -- led by an even smaller group of Communists -- declared itself exempt from the normal criminal statutes of the nation.

HOW CAMPUS REDS TRIED TO TAKE OVER A COUNTRY

CPYRGHT

There's a lesson for others in Caracas, where Communists converted a university campus into a "sanctuary" to give them a free hand in plotting to overthrow the Government. They almost got away with it before an official crackdown foiled them—for now.

CARACAS

At a time when student leftists are causing more and more trouble on campuses in the U.S. and other countries, take a look at the Central University in Caracas to see what can happen when Communists grab control of a university.

The occupation by Venezuelan troops of the Central University in late December uncovered substantial evidence that the Reds were using the school as an arsenal and staging area in a major effort to overthrow the Government.

People in this capital city of close to 2 million inhabitants have known for more than five years that the Central University was a focal point of trouble. Communist-led gangs sallied forth from the campus again and again to stage assassinations, rob banks and blow up supermarkets and oil pipelines.

It was the most sustained campaign of terrorism in Latin America since Fidel Castro took over Cuba. Until last month, the troublemakers were able to dash back to safety through the university gates.

Central University, like most others in Latin America, held the status of an autonomous institution under the constitution. The campus grounds were immune to Venezuelan law and off limits to any type of federal or municipal law enforcement.

The last straw. Tolerance of the Communist sanctuary finally ended abruptly last month when a judge was assassinated and the Venezuelan Army Chief of Staff was wounded in a new wave of violence.

Findings made on the campus since troops moved in are enabling Venezuelan authorities to piece together the full story of the conversion of the university into a base of terrorist operations.

Even though the university was on vacation when the troops struck, they arrested some 650 persons there. Many were not students at all but professional troublemakers in the pay of the Communists. Forty-five were singled out as ringleaders. Among them was a retired Army major who had been involved in an abortive uprising in 1960.

Within the university, troops found

caches of arms hidden in every part of several buildings—even in the spaces between ceilings and roofs.

The arms included automatic and conventional rifles, a light machine gun, assorted pistols and revolvers, grenades, electric detonators, explosives for making bombs, and stores of ammunition. The dormitories in which some of these weapons caches were uncovered bore such terrorist nicknames as "Stalingrad" and "Chicago."

Thirty stolen cars were rounded up on the campus, including a Volkswagen with homemade armor which one enterprising student had been renting to various terrorist groups. There were supplies of Army and police uniforms, false passports and identification papers, a Castro-Cuban flag, guerrilla films processed in Russia and a printing press for turning out counterfeit money.

Key find: documents. To Venezuelan intelligence officers, their most important find was a mound of papers and documents. These included files on guerrilla units in the mountains, plans for future operations and maps of National Guard posts with instructions on how to attack them.

There were lists of Army officers marked for assassination. There were also sketches of utility plants in the Caracas area—a favorite Red target—and manuals on ambushing Army patrols.

How did Venezuela's main university become such a bastion for the Communists? Intelligence officers say it came about mainly through a combination of three things—a maximum abuse of the constitutional immunity of the campus, intimidation of non-Communists, and an appeal to the romantic streak in many naive students.

Of the total enrollment of more than 25,000 students at Central University, fewer than 1,500 are considered Communists. Most of the students are regarded as seriously devoted to their studies and opposed to Communism.

Only 200 Red activists. It is now clear, however, that the armed Communist minority, with approximately 200

activists in various gangs, intimidated

all other students into silence. One non-Communist student now says that everybody knew what was going on but was too afraid to talk for fear of Communist reprisal.

Some key members of the university administration and faculty were Communists or sympathizers, so allowed the terrorists a free hand. In this situation, campus dormitories became the refuge of professional criminals as well as professional agitators. The criminals teamed up with students to rob banks—"for the people's cause," as they told bank officers and customers.

The campus became a recruiting ground for guerrilla units in the hills as some students took "mountain sabbaticals." Many of these were attracted to the guerrillas by the supposed glamour of becoming mountain fighters.

"If you were in the mountains with guerrillas," said a non-Communist student who did not succumb, "you were irresistible with girls."

At the same time, the university sanctuary was used as a rest and recuperation area for the regular guerrillas, as well as their fund-raising center.

"Trials" and torture. Evidence also is emerging that the campus was used for Communist "trials" and torture. One recent victim was Alfredo Rafael Seijas, a lawyer who worked in liaison between the police and Army. Seijas disappeared last September while on a visit to the university. His bound body was found the following night on a deserted Caracas street with 16 bullet holes. His mouth was stuffed with a handkerchief.

Police say Seijas was seized and hidden at the university by Communist terrorists, "tried" in a university auditorium, beaten and tortured, stuffed into the trunk of a car, then shot to death.

The main function of the Communist base at Central University, however, was to serve as the staging ground for an all-out campaign of terrorism against the capital itself. That campaign got under way in 1961 after Fidel Castro publicly declared Venezuela his No. 1 target.

The terrorists' objective was to subject Caracas to so much turmoil as to provoke a military take-over and discredit the democratic Government of President Rómulo Betancourt. In the years that followed, Caracas experienced terrorist bombings almost nightly. For a time, terrorist gunners were killing a policeman a day—often from fast-moving cars that headed straight back to

the university.

Voters defied Reds. The campaign to oust the Government by such activities in Caracas failed. In 1963, the people defied Communist threats by going to the polls in record numbers to elect a successor to Betancourt. It was the first peaceful transfer of power between democratically elected regimes in Venezuela's history.

But the Communists did not give up. They just shifted tactics. After 1963, the Reds moved into the hills for a guerrilla campaign on the Castro or Chinese Communist pattern.

By 1964, guerrillas were operating in eight of Venezuela's 20 States.

Outwardly, Central University appeared to have become a more peaceful place after the Communists moved their fight to the hills. Secretly, however, it remained a beehive of activity on behalf of the Reds.

Then, in the closing weeks of 1966, violence broke out again in Caracas, and it was traced to the university. After seven persons were killed and millions of dollars' worth of property was damaged, Venezuelan President Raúl Leoni moved in with troops.

Most Venezuelans, despite tradition of autonomy for universities, appear to approve the Government's occupation of the campus. Ordinary people say they were tired of terrorist gangs' using the university as a haven. Some find fault with the Government for waiting so long to move.

As political observers here in Caracas see it, the importance of the occupation of the university is far greater than just the arrests and the seizure of clandestine material.

It puts out of action the Communist sanctuary and center of subversive activities for the most concerted drive ever launched by the Castro Communists against a South American country. And it involves a clear warning that it could happen again.

A similar change of mind over the hot subject of university autonomy is going on throughout Latin America. Universities have been occupied in four other countries in addition to Venezuela. These are Argentina, Ecuador, Colombia and Mexico.

The outlook for the Communists in all five countries, as a result, is for tougher times. No longer can they count on university campuses as their private sanctuaries in working to undermine governments.

(END)

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Autonomy: Freedom's Foe in Latin America

By JOHN T. O'ROURKE

Editor Emeritus of
The Washington Daily News

How would you like your
university to be:

- Off limits to police?
- Forbidden to dismiss students for scholastic failure?
- Forbidden to refuse sanctuary to students who, off campus, committed arson, vandalism and even were pursued to the university gates by police?
- Forbidden to expel middle-aged, surreptitiously subsidized "students," many with families, who were fomenting political unrest by violence and who never worked for an academic degree and never intended to? dubious privileges enjoyed — if that is the word — by "autonomous" universities in South America.

The autonomous status differs in degree from country to country, of course. It is supposed to preserve academic freedom from dictatorship.

Academic "autonomy" apparently has its roots in Spanish colonialism, when the sons of the ruling classes were eligible for higher learning. It was a sort of gimmick to preserve the status quo.

Now times have changed, and it is a gimmick to upset the status quo.

We've had a sample of it in the United States. Let's see how it worked.

In the current Atlantic Monthly for September, Professor Lewis Feuer, who taught philosophy and social science at California University, describes how the "free speech explosion" there in 1964-65 resulted in its decline.

Faculty action and inaction, plus a police failure, in compliance with faculty equivocation, gave the university at Berkeley an "autonomy" somewhat similar

to that of many South American universities.

In Berkeley, too, it has proved to be a stumbling block to improvement in academic standards.

The California faculty promulgated a charter, says Professor Feuer, which could be used to safeguard the advocacy and planning of immediate acts of violence, illegal demonstrations, terrorist operations, interference with troop trains and obscene speech and action.

"In effect," he says, "it created a moral vacuum in the heart of the university. It founded an enclave which cancelled the limits of any previously defined freedom of speech ... students were allowed to advocate and plan any sort of political activity, legal or illegal, violent or non-violent."

A migration of "non-students" descended on Berkeley: "Tired radicals came to be rejuvenated ... lumpen intellectuals ... Maoists arrived determined to 'escalate now' on the campus; varieties of sexual reformers (orgyists, they called themselves) expounded their creeds on the university steps."

Finally, it was estimated there were about 2500 "non-students" at Berkeley.

MURDERER

"Some were in flight from stark tragedy," he says, "some were clinging to rebellion and adolescence and one was a youth who had murdered a seven-year-old child in New York; when Federal authorities arrested him for violation of parole, he told how he had come to Berkeley to make himself useful to humanity."

Professor Feuer asks "What is a non-student? ... he has no job, no calling, no vocation; he is a guerilla fighter against society."

His description fits every non-student in South America as well as Berkeley, except Professor Feuer fails to point out how disciplined and organized some of them are in their fight "ag'in" established order.

Moderates in the Berkeley student body, disgusted with faculty capitulation and ambivalence, stayed away from the student elections. As a result, a communist leader was elected.

The faculty policy of ambiguity and permissiveness submerged the concept of freedom of speech as a means of fair discussion.

This also is true in many "autonomous" South American universities.

ONE-SIDED

Supporters of President Johnson's policies are also, in effect, denied a forum on Berkeley's campus, says Professor Feuer. Students also managed to halt momentarily the presentation of an honorary degree to U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Arthur Goldberg. The students had another one for him: "Doctor of War."

At a meeting with students, a professor had to stand for being called a "son-of-a-bitch." Only one student protested: He said he may be one but it was impolite to call him that to his face.

"This was indeed a time of transition for many Berkeley professors," says Professor Feuer, "from libertarianism to authoritarianism in one short year."

Student ethics lowered, the city of Berkeley had unprecedented crime (traced in large part to students and non-students) "guerilla war was waged against small storekeepers, aged landladies, the university grading system and

Selective Service."

It certainly sounds like an "autonomous" South American university.

CRACKDOWN

Last month, in Argentina, provisional President Juan Carlos Onganía ended the autonomy of Buenos Aires University, whose schools of science and engineering were riddled with communists and far-left activists.

Students got wind of his impending action, seized the university buildings and locked themselves in them. Police were called to re-take them, professors' and students' heads were broken, some were jailed and several police wounded.

NO APOLOGY

"Of course I lament the violence," Gen. Onganía told this reporter shortly afterward. "If I did not, I would be ashamed of myself."

But he refused to apologize for it because he doesn't consider it was his decree which precipitated it.

He doesn't apologize for police behavior for the same reason that President Johnson would refuse to apologize for the behavior of police in Mississippi or California.

What Gen. Onganía did was put the Federally supported university under the Education Department, just as many schools in the U.S. are under the authority of State Departments of Education.

This reporter was in Montevideo a few years ago when "students" rigged a proposed change in the law which would have taken control of the Uruguayan University away from its administration and put it in the hands of a coalition of left-wing students and teachers.

Foiled, they seized the university and rioted in front of the main building. Police came in

CPYRGHT

armored hose cars, blasted the students with water, and were denounced for brutality.

Said my Uruguayan friend, Raul Fontaina, ironocally, "all they want to do is to take the university from the taxpayers who own it."

In Mexico, on another visit, the bus company had just put in a small fare increase. No doubt it was a hardship on the poor, modest tho it was, but English, German or U.S. buses are just as expensive in Pesos as in any other currency.

At any rate, students at Mexico University descended on the town, seized the buses, took them to the university campus, stole the tires and then burned them. It's called university autonomy. It's hard to see how it helped the bus riders.

In Caracas a few years ago, Walker Stone, editor of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, and Charles Lucey, now editor of the Trenton Times, interviewed a communist "student" leader on Caracas University campus.

He told with delight how his

organized left wing students could set off bombs, wreck cars or whatever and be safe if they could make it back to the campus, where the police were forbidden to enter without court permission.

By the time they returned with a warrant after a hearing, students, weapons or bombs would all be smuggled away, and safe.

"The 20th Century has shown how the intellectual class can become a primary force for an assault on democratic institutions," says Professor

Feuer," and we may yet witness this phenomenon in America disguised under such slogans as 'participatory democracy.' "

Professor Feuer's article on Berkeley makes good reading.

It reminds one that where those who enjoyed university autonomy finally were able to overturn the Government, as in Cuba, they promptly not only abolished it even as theory, but along with it every vestige of independence, and academic freedom.

Speech by Venezuelan President Raul Leoni, 16 December 1966

President and vice president of the Congress; chairman and other members of the honorable Senate committee; chairman and other members of the honorable Chamber of Deputies committee:

I am receiving the honorable legislative committee members who have come to inform me of the closing of the 1966 regular session of Congress at a time when the criminal actions of terrorists have compelled me to suspend several constitutional guarantees throughout the nation with full cabinet approval. This is the first time that I have resorted to emergency measures provided by the Constitution during my term in office. I can assure all Venezuelan citizens that although I was forced to suspend those guarantees, it is contrary to my republican sentiments.

However, it is well known that the lack of adequate legal instruments and of speedy procedures to prevent and repress communist subversion and terrorism of any kind obstructs government action under existing laws to protect civil liberties, the security of persons and their properties, and even the stability of our democratic institutions. Therefore it was necessary to impose emergency measures which will temporarily provide the national government with adequate means to destroy the anti-Venezuelan conspiracy directed by international communism from Havana which has come to the fore in Venezuela through common crimes and (words indistinct). The communists have expressed their desire for a long war in the present stage of our national life, the long-range goal of which would be a victory for establishing a totalitarian tyranny in which life, liberty, and dignity would be meaningless. In the meantime, the communists carry out an intelligent division of work. On the one hand, there are the fanatics who favor armed battle, which they effect through the action of rural guerrillas. That has been a complete failure in spite of intermittent resurgence. There are also the urban guerrillas, who are treacherously, scandalously, and audaciously directed to obtain money and other material resources, to frighten the working man, and to exasperate the forces which maintain collective security and institutional integrity.

On the other hand are the soft-liners, those who favor the battle of the masses and the propagandists for democratic peace, and amnesty for insurrectionists who have taken up arms against national sovereignty and for those who have stained their hands with human blood and have stolen the properties and money of others.

As chief executive I can assure all Venezuelans that my government will never hesitate to courageously assume the responsibility which the popular mandate and the constitution have placed upon my shoulders. I am convinced that it is a short step between political juggling and the government's surrendering to the spasmodic attacks of communist subversion. Far from controlling subversion, a surrender by the government would only serve to stimulate communist aggressiveness in a society and a nation that, should it show any weakness, might succumb to inevitable destruction.

My government has the full and firm support of all the people and the loyalty of the armed forces. That is why I am in a position to completely assume my responsibility as chief executive and as a Venezuelan citizen and to use the powers vested in me by law, using my own judgment for humanitarian purposes and national interests. I have so acted and I will continue to do so.

Congress also has its responsibilities, which it exercises in accordance with the balance that exists circumstantially between the congressmen who support the government and those who oppose it. In my judgment Venezuela lacks the proper legal instruments to fight crime, both common and political, with maximum efficiency. I believe that such a situation inevitably leads to the enactment of laws necessary to better maintain constitutional order. Following that reasoning I issued a decree during this morning's cabinet meeting under which the chief executive assumes, in fact, responsibility for

maintaining public order and the personal security of all citizens within the boundaries of all national universities. The decree leaves the supervision and administration of education in the hands of university authorities.

In my judgment, universities are institutions dedicated to philosophic and scientific investigation and to the education and preparation of our citizens for life and the exercise of democracy, the promotion of culture, and the development of the spirit of human solidarity, as provided for in our constitution. As a good Venezuelan citizen and university graduate, I reject the idea that universities should be at the exclusive service of political groups or that they should be used for totalitarian subversion, planned and organized by international communist centers which conspire against liberty and the democratic fate of the American continent.

I also believe that university autonomy has been established, not only to guarantee education and academic freedom in the universities, but also to provide freely and democratically elected university authorities with sufficient administrative power to govern their fate. We cannot accept reasoning aimed at making the university into a state within the state. In recognizing these aims for the common welfare, my government has decided to restore to the autonomous universities their national characteristics as autonomous universities. Thereby they can better express their educational, cultural, and scientific functions, establishing them in the framework of national sovereignty, which is one and indivisible. The universities will remain autonomous as far as teaching and administration are concerned. However, as far as public order is concerned, they will be governed by the laws which are the same for all citizens and all institutions which live and prosper in our nation.

In order to realize this supreme aspiration of all Venezuelans, the executive branch will immediately proceed to adopt the necessary measures and regulations. From now on university schoolrooms and streets will again be reserved for the authentic concerns and aspirations of all Venezuelans, and universities will again represent the best hopes of Venezuela to definitely attain its great national and American fate.

Citizen congressmen, this has been a year fraught with difficulties and calamities. The debate on the tax reform bill prompted psychological disorders which caused a serious depletion of our bank reserves and international currency.

These are fortunately already being replenished. Natural disaster caused considerable damage to the national highway system and to the properties of a considerable sector of our population, unfortunately to the most unprotected sector. To repair as much as possible the damage caused by heavy rains, I have asked Congress for authority to provide additional appropriations amounting to 45 million bolivares which, I am sure, will be approved with the urgency that the case demands.

Finally, there were political difficulties such as the attempted rebellion at the Ramo Verde National Guard school, which was fortunately discovered, and the resurgence of political terrorism which, as I have already said, compelled us to suspend constitutional guarantees. Some of those calamities and problems will be overcome in a short time. Others will require more time to heal due to their very nature.

This is a good time to convey to the Senate as well as the Chamber of Deputies my deepest and sincerest satisfaction, as well as that of my colleagues, for the magnificent tasks performed during the current year in providing the nation with laws that will serve to accelerate the economic, social, and cultural transformation of the republic. I am convinced that those laws, far from upsetting them, will promote the economic development and social progress of our country. It is almost unnecessary to add that the government will carefully watch over their implementation, and that it is prepared to immediately propose any corrective measures in order to insure the fulfillment of the goals for which they were intended.

I thank the honorable congressional committees for their notification and wish members of the Congress, the Venezuelan people, and all Venezuelans, happy and prosperous holidays.

CARACAS: SABADO 17 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1966

Dijo el Presidente:

No Presidiré Nunca un Gobierno Renuente a Asumir con Valentía
La Responsabilidad del Mandato Popular

- En la ceremonia en que comisiones del Congreso le participaron la clausura de las sesiones, el Primer Magistrado anunció la aprobación de un decreto por medio del cual el Ejecutivo Nacional asume el mantenimiento del orden público en el perímetro de las universidades
- El Jefe del Estado expresó que no acepta "la tesis que pretende convertir a la Universidad en una especie de Estado dentro de otro Estado"
- La Universidad continuará siendo autónoma en el orden docente y administrativo, pero en lo que atañe al orden público estará sometida al ordenamiento legal
- "Con las ventanas de sus aulas y con sus avenidas nuevamente abiertas a las verdaderas inquietudes, la Universidad volverá a representar la mejor esperanza"

Ciudadanos Presidente y Vice-presidente del Congreso Nacional,

Ciudadanos representantes de la Honorable Cámara del Senado, Ciudadanos representantes de la Honorable Cámara de Diputados,

Ciudadanos.
Me toca recibir a las Honorables Comisiones de las Cámaras Legislativas que han venido a participarme la clausura de las sesiones ordinarias del Congreso de la República correspondientes a este año 1966, en momentos en que la criminal actividad del terrorismo político me ha llevado a suspender, con acuerdo del Consejo de Ministros, algunas garantías constitucionales en todo el territorio nacional.

Es ésta la primera vez que, durante mi mandato presidencial, recorro al expediente de las medidas de emergencia previstas en la Constitución Nacional. Y puedo asegurar a los venezolanos que el verme obligado a suspender tales garantías nada grato ha sido a mis sentimientos republicanos. Pero es bien sabido que la ausencia de normas legales adecuadas y de procedimientos expeditivos para prevenir y reprimir la subversión comunista y el terrorismo de cualquier signo, entraba la acción del Gobierno dentro del ordenamiento jurídico ordinario, para defender las libertades ciudadanas, la seguridad de las personas y de sus bienes y la estabilidad misma de nuestras instituciones democráticas. De aquí la necesidad de estas medidas de emergencia que, si quiera temporal-

mente, proveen al Gobierno Nacional de los medios idóneos para desarticular la conjura antivenezolana, dirigida desde La Habana por el comunismo internacional y reforzada aquí con aportes de delincuencia común y de la reacción dictatorialista.

Para los comunistas en la presente etapa de la historia nacional su declarada aspiración, es la guerra larga, cuya culminación a largo plazo sería esa victoria, implantadora de la tiranía del totalitarismo, en que la vida, la libertad y la dignidad del hombre nada significan. Y mientras ello no ocurra, los comunistas realizan una inteligente división del trabajo. De un lado el trabajo de los duros, de los fanáticos de la lucha armada, la que adelantan por medio de la guerrilla rural, totalmente fracasada, por lo demás, a pesar de sus intermitentes manifestaciones, y de la guerrilla urbana, que por alevosa y audazmente escandalosa, se utiliza para proveerse de moneda y otros recursos materiales, para atemorizar al hombre de trabajo y para exasperar a las fuerzas guardianas del bienestar colectivo y de la integridad institucional. Del otro lado los blandos, los partidarios de la lucha de masas, los propagandistas de la paz democrática y de la amnistía para los alzados en armas contra la soberanía nacional y para los que han manchado sus manos con sangre hermana y con bienes y productos del trabajo ajeno.

asegurarle a los venezolanos que

no presidiré un gobierno renuente a asumir con valentía la responsabilidad que el mandato popular y la Constitución echaron sobre mis hombros. Porque estoy convencido de que no hay más que un paso entre el malabarismo político y la claudicación del Gobierno ante las espasmódicas arremetidas de la subversión comunista, lo cual lejos de contener ésta, sólo servirá para estimular su gravedad frente a una sociedad y un Estado que si se muestran blandos e inconsecuentes podrían deslizarse por la peligrosa pendiente de su propia e inevitable disolución.

Mi Gobierno cuenta con la alta y recta solidaridad de todo el pueblo y con la lealtad de las Fuerzas Armadas. Por eso estoy en condiciones de asumir íntegramente mi responsabilidad de Magistrado y de venezolano y de usar el derecho de gracia que me conceden las leyes, tomando en consideración solamente, de acuerdo con mi propia conciencia, razones de humanidad y de sana conveniencia nacional. Así he procedido y así continuará haciéndolo.

Por su parte, las Cámaras Legislativas tienen también su propia responsabilidad, la que ejercen conforme al equilibrio que circunstancialmente pueda existir entre los parlamentarios que apoyan y respaldan al Gobierno y los que le hacen oposición.

Tengo para mí que el Estado Venezolano carece de los instrumentos legales y reglamentarios indispensables para combatir eficazmente la subversión comunista, tanto la común como la poli-

tica y que semejante situación plantea la inaplazable necesidad de promover el ordenamiento legal indispensable para el más seguro mantenimiento del orden constitucional.

Es atendiendo a estas razones que, en la mañana de hoy, y en el Consejo de Ministros, he dictado el Decreto reglamentario por medio del cual el Ejecutivo Nacional asume efectivamente el mantenimiento del orden político y la seguridad personal de la ciudadanía dentro del perímetro de las Universidades nacionales mientras deja la vigilancia y el mantenimiento del orden docente y administrativo a cargo de las autoridades universitarias.

Considero a las Universidades como planteles dedicados a la investigación filosófica y científica y a la educación y formación, como lo ordena nuestra Carta Fundamental, "de ciudadanos aptos para la vida y para el ejercicio de la democracia, el fomento de la cultura y el desarrollo del espíritu de solidaridad humana". Como buen venezolano y como consecuente universitario rechazo la idea de una Universidad al exclusivo servicio de parcialidades políticas o de la subversión totalitaria planificada y organizada desde los centros del comunismo internacional que conspiran contra la libertad y el destino democrático del Continente Americano.

Considero asimismo que la au-

tonomía universitaria ha sido instituida no sólo para garantizar a la Universidad la libertad docente y académica sino también para dotar a las autoridades, emanadas del libre ejercicio de su democracia interna, de suficiente poder administrativo para regir su destino. Pero no aceptamos la tesis que pretende convertir a la Universidad en una especie de Estado dentro del Estado venezolano. Y es por lealtad a estas ideas de bien común que mi Gobierno ha decidido devolverle a la universidad autónoma su fisonomía nacional, la que expresa mejor su función educativa, cultural y científica, reintegrándola al marco de la soberanía nacional que es una e indivisible. La Universidad continuará siendo autónoma en el orden docente y administrativo, pero en lo que atañe al orden público estará sometida al ordenamiento legal, que es uno solo para todos los ciudadanos y para todas las instituciones que viven y prosperan bajo el cielo nacional.

Y para hacer realidad esta suprema aspiración de todos los venezolanos, el Ejecutivo Nacional procederá a adoptar de inmediato cuantas medidas y providencias fueren necesarias.

Y así, de ahora en adelante, con las ventanas de sus aulas y con sus avenidas nuevamente abiertas a las verdaderas inquietudes y aspiraciones de nuestro pueblo, la Universidad volverá a representar la mejor esperanza de Venezuela

para lograr definitivamente su gran destino nacional y americano.

Ciudadanos Congresantes:

Este ha sido un año cargado de dificultades y calamidades. La discusión de la Reforma Tributaria produjo trastornos psicológicos que se tradujeron en un serio drenaje de los depósitos bancarios y de divisas internacionales, de los cuales afortunadamente ya estamos en vía de completa recuperación. Calamidades de la naturaleza han causado cuantiosos daños en todo el sistema de vialidad nacional, en la propiedad y medios de vida de una respetable porción de nuestro pueblo, la más desvalida por cierto. Para reparar en cuanto fuere posible, los estragos causados por la inclemencia de las lluvias, he pedido al Congreso Nacional la consiguiente autorización para decretar un crédito adicional del orden de los 45 millones de bolívars que estoy seguro será despachado con la urgencia que el caso amerita. Y por último, dificultades de orden político. Conato de levantamiento de la Escuela de Formación de Guardias Nacionales de Ramo Verde, felizmente debelado. Y recrudescencia del terrorismo político, lo que, como ya dije, nos ha conducido al actual estado de Suspensión de Garantías Constitucionales. Calamidades y dificultades que las más ya han sido superadas o lo serán a corto plazo y otras requerirán un tiempo prudencial en virtud de su

misma naturaleza.

Sea buena esta oportunidad para hacer llegar tanto al Senado como a la Cámara de Diputados, por el digno intermedio de ustedes, mi honda y sincera satisfacción así como la de mis colaboradores, por la magnífica labor realizada en el curso del presente año para dotar al país de un cuerpo de leyes que servirán para acelerar el proceso de transformación económica, social y fiscal de la República. Estoy convencido de que ese conjunto de leyes lejos de entorpecer está llamado a impulsar el desarrollo económico y el progreso social de nuestro país. Demás está decir que el Gobierno vigilará cuidadosamente los resultados de su aplicación, pues tiene el ánimo abierto a proponer de inmediato los correctivos que fueren necesarios para lograr que aquellos se correspondan cabal y exactamente con el propósito y los fines perseguidos.

Ciudadanos Senadores:

Ciudadanos Diputados:

Al agradecer a las Honorables Cámaras Legislativas la participación que acaban de hacerme, quiero también desearles unas alegrías y venturosas pascuas, como las tendrán los que habitan el territorio nacional, donde afortunadamente reina la más completa normalidad.

Miraflores, Salón "El Sol del Perú", 18 de diciembre de 1966.

PRIMERA INTERVENCION DEL SENADOR LA RIVA ARAUJO SOBRE
GUERRILLAS, VIOLENCIA, TERRORISMO Y SITUACION UNIVERSITARIA

SENADOR LA RIVA ARAUJO. Ciudadano Presidente del Senado: Honorables Colegas: Ayer, al salir del debate que se efectuó en el Senado, me dirigí a la Cámara de Diputados para presenciar otro debate en el cual desarrollaba en su discurso el Diputado José Vicente Rangel, el tema de la desaparición y muerte de Alberto Lovera. Escuché la serie de culpabilidades e imputaciones que hacía este honorable Diputado. Me senté en las bancadas de la Cámara de Diputados y escuché todo el debate, en el que un grupo de la oposición sentaba en el banquillo de los acusados al Gobierno, para culparlo de la desaparición y del asesinato de un venezolano. Por mi mente pasaron una serie de observaciones. Empecé a recordar el año de 1961, cuando una violencia implacable se desencadenó en este país para derrocar al Régimen Constitucional de Rómulo Betancourt. Recordé a tantos muertos y las voladuras de oleoductos. Recordé el terrorismo desatado en Caracas y en las grandes capitales de Venezuela; pero no me explicaba, ciudadanos Senadores, cómo Venezuela podía olvidar toda la tragedia que vivió. Veía una barra aplaudiendo frenéticamente al orador José Vicente Rangel. Veía oradores eufóricos acusando al Gobierno. Yo me estremecí en la silla, ciudadanos Senadores, porque no había derecho para olvidar ni por un instante la tragedia que vive el país. No hay derecho para que se hayan cambiado los papeles y veamos a los acusados transformarse en acusadores y los acusadores en acusados. Entonces pergeñaba la intervención de hoy en el Senado, porque yo quería y quiero venir aquí esta tarde, en nombre de mi partido, a colocar en una justa posición, con toda la altura y la responsabilidad de dirigente del país y con la misma altura de siempre, el problema del recrudecimiento de las guerrillas urbanas y rurales.

Pruebas del Recrudecimiento de la Subversión

No tengo necesidad de probarle al Senado la verdad en el tema de mi intervención. Pedí la palabra para hablar sobre el recrudecimiento de las guerrillas y de la acción subversiva en el país. Me da la razón el propio Ministro de Relaciones Interiores, el nuevo y recién llegado Ministro de Relaciones Interiores, doctor Leandro Mora, cuando la prensa de hoy nos dice a grandes titulares: "Acordadas anoche medidas energéticas contra recrudecimiento del terrorismo". "Primera reunión del doctor Reinaldo Leandro Mora con el Comando Policial Unificado".

El escritor Juan Liscano, en artículo publicado el 12 de noviembre de 1966, me aborrió un gran trabajo; y hace el recuento del último mes, el mes de noviembre, en que constatamos hechos tremendos de la acción subversiva.

Estamos Frente a una Nueva Guerra

No quiero repetir esta reseña trágica de muertes, de tragedias, de hogares asolados y de pueblos asaltados. ¿Qué pasa con todo esto, señores? Vamos a ser sinceros y francos. No soy original porque lo han dicho personeros de Acción Democrática, pero tengo que decir que nos encontramos frente a una guerra. Una nueva guerra. No es la guerra clásica; no es la guerra histórica. No es una guerra que está sujeta a reglas y a leyes aceptadas por las dos partes que pelean. Es otra guerra la que se inició en Venezuela desde 1961. Es una guerra sobre el individuo, sobre su moral, sobre su carácter, sobre su creencia, sobre su mentalidad. Es una guerra para hacer autómatas, para meterle al hombre la idea de que tiene que extraer de su ser y de su alma una serie de principios sagrados que, adivinados, le sirven de guía y de apoyo en la

vida cristiana, há llevado en el fondo de su alma el pueblo venezolano. Se desarrolla en pueblos y ciudades, contra unos, para adormecerles la conciencia, y contra otros para asustarlos.

La guerra psicológica está haciendo indiferente a una gran masa de población venezolana, porque utilizan el campo psicológico, por un lado, para hacerle ver a muchos que no es tan grave el problema, y por el otro, dan los golpes para confundir al gobierno y a la opinión pública venezolana, pero al fin de cuentas lo que hacen es poner al hermano a asesinar a su hermano. En esta guerra, amigos Senadores, los pueblos son dominados sin lucha, porque la lucha es sorda, fría y calculada. Señores Senadores, les quiero decir: una lucha en que cada uno de nosotros es un combatiente, defendiendo una causa o la contraria, pero cada uno de nosotros está metido en esta lucha. Unos con su indiferencia, pero están metidos; otros con las responsabilidades del Gobierno. Los militares con sus acciones en las guerrillas venezolanas. Los expertos de los partidos analizando las cuestiones psicológicas, pero todos, hasta aquí en el Senado, estamos encuadrados en la misma guerra.

Pero señores, yo quiero llamar la atención sobre algo que está sucediendo en el país. Planteo la gravedad de la tragedia, pero siento y aprecio que en mucha parte de la población venezolana hay letargo, hay indolencia y hay hasta tranquilidad en muchos, a pesar de todos estos estrujones que a diario nos hace la subversión comunista. Señores, yo quiero llamar la atención a todos los combatientes en esta guerra para decirles, que la concesión que se le haga en este momento al enemigo, lo fortalece y le da más fe para que continúe en su lucha. Por eso quiero hablarles a los combatientes para que no nos posea el espíritu de concesión en el campo militar y en el campo político.

Las Decisiones de la Conferencia Tricontinental de La Habana

Yo quisiera recordarle al Senado que esto que está sucediendo en Venezuela no es obra del azar. Aquí hay cerebros de una conspiración universal que dirigen la insurrección. En La Habana se celebró la Conferencia Tricontinental, y se planeó todo lo que está sucediendo en Venezuela y en muchas partes de Latinoamérica y del mundo. Yo quisiera distraer un poquito la atención de los ciudadanos Senadores, para que se den cuenta de un estudio preparado por la Comisión Especial de Consulta sobre Seguridad de la O. E. A. en su sexto período de sesiones ordinarias. Esa Comisión obtuvo la documentación y todos los debates que se habían celebrado en la Conferencia Tricontinental de La Habana. En este estudio se transcriben frases de lo aprobado en la Conferencia, tales como estas: Abusar intencionalmente —amigos de Acción Democrática, y oigan esto— "Abusar intencionalmente desde el punto de vista político, de la buena voluntad, consideración y tolerancia de las naciones democráticas".

"El ejército reaccionario tiene que ser sustituido por un ejército revolucionario que garantice la realización de planes que satisfagan las aspiraciones de todo el pueblo. Por eso nosotros los venezolanos hemos escogido la lucha armada sin descartar ninguna otra forma de lucha, convínamos los medios armados y no armados, legales o ilegales, de masas y comandos, porque consideramos que lo importante no es la lucha sino la liquidación del imperialismo y la toma del poder político, para llevar a la práctica un programa revolucionario y de masas". Se propone lo siguiente en la Conferencia: "Que los movimientos revolucionarios de Colombia, Venezuela, Perú, Panamá y Ecuador y otros de la zona del Caribe y del Sur del Continente, den cuanto antes los pasos tendientes a examinar conjuntamente esta situación militar, y con el fin de encontrar los medios para contrarrestar los efectos de esta situación, se reúnan en la ciudad de La Habana, el 1. Pres-
tar el más decidido apoyo al Movimiento Revolucionario de

Para esa decisión, un poderío inmenso se colocaba detrás de ellos. Allí estaba presente China y la Unión Soviética dando el aval a la decisión de fondo que tomaba la Conferencia Tricontinental. Luego, lo que está pasando en Venezuela no es una cuestión de grupos autónomos y anárquicos del Comunismo, sino todo un plan sincronizado, perfectamente dirigido, abastecido y respaldado. Ello nos tiene que llamar a muchísima reflexión.

Veamos como es el estado actual de la guerra. Campo de operaciones: Lo conocen ustedes; primero, el campo venezolano con nuestras montañas, ubicado en Lara, Portuguesa, Yaracuy, Miranda, Falcón, Trujillo, Guárico y todos los sitios que ustedes conocen tanto como yo; y segundo, la ciudad —ya lo dije y lo recordé, además es cuestión muy conocida por ustedes— en Venezuela.

Las treguas que acuerdan los guerrilleros de este país hacen declarar al Ministro de la Defensa que ya están dominadas las guerrillas y hasta el punto de que el jefe de la Defensa dice en los programas de la radio que los guerrilleros ya no existen.

tica en países ya avanzados en la antiguerra psicológica, de que no se debe hablar de pacificación y de exterminio hasta que no esté totalmente dominada la situación en el país o la región. Aquí caemos inocentemente en la trampa y el Ministro declara: "Erradicadas las guerrillas de Falcón", "En tal zona no existe ya nada", y a los ocho días revienta la misma guerrilla en Falcón. Porque ellos hacen treguas para que el Ministro crea y caiga en la trampa de dar la declaración, y entonces es cuando el pueblo empieza a no creerle al Ministro de Defensa: guerra psicológica para desvirtuar la personalidad y la autoridad que debe tener un Ministro de la Defensa, el personaje más importante de la guerra y lo hacen quedar mal.

Pero hay otra trampa más premeditada, que Acción Democrática la conoce muy bien porque la ha estudiado mucho, cual es el plan de "pacificación democrática" del Partido Comunista y de los guerrilleros del país. Le están haciendo creer al Gobierno que ellos están dispuestos a entrar en una política de pacificación y hay quienes se lo han creído y empiezan a conversar. Pero algo más que conversar ha sucedido en este país. Este Congreso aprobó la Ley de Conmutación de Penas, por presión de prensa y de propaganda de una guerra psicológica que hacía reclamar en periódicos, en los mítines y en las conversaciones, que había que tener espíritu de generosidad, que se debía ser comprensivo; que había que ser generoso; entonces se abrió la brecha de la Ley de Conmutación de Penas y aparece el espíritu de "convivencia".

Señores de la mayoría del Gobierno. Les voy a dar un alerta: Ya empezó la campaña psicológica a favor de la Ley de Amnistía. ¡Cuidado! queridos amigos, si caen en la trampa en que cayeron con la Ley de Conmutación de Penas! A lo mejor los hacen aprobar esa Ley de Amnistía, porque están inteligente la conducción psicológica de la insurrección en este país, que ha llegado hasta hacer confundir al Gobierno y a la opinión en los conceptos de pacificación y apaciguamiento. El Gobierno cree que es lo mismo pacificación que apaciguamiento (o algunos del Gobierno, no acusemos a todos). En la opinión general hay también confusión entre pacificación y apaciguamiento, lo mismo que entre amnistía e indulto. Hay una sublime e inteligente confusión de conceptos. La pacificación es restablecer la paz, es eliminar las causas de la guerra, y la pacificación sincera y real, amigos de Acción Democrática, conlleva la entrega de las armas del enemigo que ataca. Y yo no he sabido que en los planes de pacificación del Gobierno haya pedido la primera entrega de armas al enemigo. A veces el apaciguamiento se confunde con la tregua que realiza el enemigo. Otras veces es calmar, es aquietamiento. ¿Será esto lo que está logrando el Gobierno en lugar de pacificación? ¿aquietamiento? ¿calmar los ánimos? Hay que pensar detenidamente sobre esto. ¿Y la amnistía? La amnistía es el perdón de la falta, tal como viene con esta Ley que nos están asomando. ¿Hasta dónde se perdona la falta a los que asesinaron, a los que mataron, a los que violaron, a los que saquearon, a los que hicieron desastres, a los que llenaron de dolor y lágrimas muchos hogares venezolanos? Otros piden que olvidemos su falta, pero mientras no haya un ejemplo de severidad con quien comete un delito y hasta que no haya la conducción seria y formal de una idea exacta de la pacificación, estaremos siendo juguetes y burla del contrario.

El indulto es el perdón de la pena que falta, por eso es distinto indultar que amnistiar.

Recordemos que en la lucha subversiva no se actúa tanto contra el adversario aparente. En esta guerra psicológica se actúa sobre la comunidad, sobre la población; la guerra no es entre las Fuerzas Armadas y los guerrilleros; no se trata de quien gana y quien toma El Tocuyo, de quien toma Boconó; esta guerra la gana quien domine la opinión pública, y quien logre desquiciar los fundamentos del régimen, quien destruya los cimientos espirituales de la sociedad y quien logre imponer otros principios y otras normas para regir la vida colectiva.

La Universidad Central de Venezuela

Pero señores, en este plan de acción del Partido Comunista hay Cuarteles Generales, hay Estados Mayores, hay Escuelas Superiores de Guerra, y por eso quisiera detenerme un poco en

versiva como centro neurálgico de operaciones. En la Universidad se traza y opera algo eminentemente táctico, guerrillero y hay cuestiones que lindan con lo económico. Toman la bandera de la autonomía universitaria para poder meter de contrabando la insurrección que se teje en el seno de la Universidad. Con la bandera de la autonomía universitaria y confundiendo la autonomía docente y administrativa, confunden al Gobierno para hacerle creer que no puede llegar a la Universidad a salvar la vida de un hombre o a evitar que un hampón se refugie en su seno; ni dejan mantener el orden dentro de un instituto en donde es primordial mantener el orden. Señores, ayer la bandera de la autonomía era hermosa y linda; yo libré mil batallas en la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente para pedir que se incorporara en la Constitución el principio de la autonomía universitaria, con mi balbuceo de muchacho de veinte años, alborotado e idealista. Era un derecho que reclamaba la Universidad para defenderse de los ejecutivismos de los gobiernos; pero hoy la bandera de la autonomía no se levanta por el extremismo para defenderse de un Gobierno, sino para atacar a un Gobierno y atacar a la sociedad.

Señores, si ustedes van por la Universidad, como he ido yo, y lo saben los profesores muy eminentes en esta Cámara del Senado, (veo que mira el Senador Paz a Acosta Saignes: por cierto lo decía por él, porque es eminente y es profesor) pueden darse cuenta de que en los afiches de la Universidad, en los discursos de los mítines y en sus campañas electorales, el ambiente y el espíritu que se vive es de una escuela permanente de violencia. Hasta en las cuestiones electorales para propaganda de reivindicaciones estudiantiles los afiches representan a muchachos que se agachan y agarran una piedra para zumbársela a no sé quién. En las luchas estudiantiles, el espíritu, el afiche, el mitin, todo es de consagración a la violencia, y lo que es más grave, los hampones de este país, creen que en la Universidad encuentran el refugio, y se van para allá, porque están seguros de que allí la insurrección comunista, el estudiante que tiene conexión inmediata con la insurrección, lo ampara, porque puede ser una ficha clave y decisiva para ellos. Todo esto tenemos que decirlo con valor, porque muchas veces se politiqua con la Universidad, y este es un momento, Señadores de la mayoría y Senadores de la oposición, en que debemos hablar con sinceridad, porque se están tratando cosas muy graves.

Para terminar sobre la Universidad, voy a decir lo último grave. Tengo que hacer una declaración antes de entrar en este tema. Estoy seguro de que las Autoridades Universitarias, los Decanos, etc., manejan con pulcritud los dineros de la Universidad. Hago esta declaración de conciencia, porque me consta y conozco la vida de muchas de las autoridades de la Universidad; son hombres honestos. No creo que hayan ensuciado sus manos con peculado en el presupuesto universitario. Pero esto no quita, señores, para yo hacer otra aseveración. Las filtraciones estudiadas por el Partido Comunista que se logran del presupuesto de la Universidad, le dan al Partido Comunista un ingreso anual equivalente a diez millones de bolívares. El Partido Comunista cuenta con ese ingreso, no porque sustrae de una Partida especial dichos ingresos. No, el Partido Comunista lo sabe hacer muy inteligentemente. Aprovecha la imprenta, la Biblioteca, las ayudas a los estudiantes comunistas, los empleados comunistas. Vemos a jóvenes recién graduados con altos sueldos, pues en tres años pasan de simples recién egresados a Profesores titulares. La burocracia gana más que todos los Profesores de la Universidad juntos; más de seiscientos empleados son del Partido Comunista. Las becas, viajes, viáticos y créditos preferenciales, son dados con criterio de ayudar a los miembros del Partido Comunista. Yo estoy en la obligación de decir esto aquí en el Senado, y repito la salvedad de mi primera intervención frente a las autoridades universitarias, de que es púero el manejo de los dineros por las autoridades y sus Decanos. No creo que roben un centavo, porque son honestos, pero en la inconciencia que vive el país, no hay la acuciosidad de descubrir mil filtraciones que se hacen con talento. Tengo la obligación de decirlo.

Ante la Guerra Revolucionaria ¿Qué Hace el Gobierno?

Ahora, señores, voy a pasar a la segunda parte de mi intervención, en el Senado:

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la guerra dirigida, apoyada financieramente, con material bélico y material técnico suficiente para causar trastornos en el país, con cerebros doctores amaestrados en universidades de guerra subversiva operando plenamente, yo hago una pregunta clave para empezar esta segunda parte: ¿QUE HACE EL GOBIERNO DE LA REPUBLICA ANTE ESTA REALIDAD? Señores, empiezo por hacer un reconocimiento; la sinceridad de mi discurso y la objetividad del mismo me obligan a reconocer en el Gobierno, que ha hecho algunas cosas para enfrentarse al problema de la insurrección comunista. Lo primero que ha hecho es dar la orden, clara y terminante, a las Fuerzas Armadas Venezolanas para que acometan con toda energía la guerra antiguerrillera, llamémosla así. Eso es muy bueno. Hecho positivo del Gobierno. Segundo, ha creado una conciencia antiguerrillera en algunos sectores claves de las Fuerzas Armadas; además de crear esa conciencia, el Gobierno ha autorizado cursos de muchos Oficiales para que vayan a las Escuelas de Panamá y a otros sitios, a obtener conocimientos sobre la guerra moderna que se está desarrollando en el país. Sé y me consta de muchos planes que tiene el Gobierno, muchos de los cuales no los ha realizado; sé y me consta que ha pretendido organizar los Comandos de las Policías a fin de unificar la acción de todas ellas, pues su acción era incongruente y muy desorganizada; admiro las gestiones que ha hecho el Gobierno de la República para organizar un Comando único en las Policías, y para entrenarlas eficientemente en el plan antiguerrillero.

Pero señores, estoy en la obligación de hacer ciertas críticas a la política antiguerrillera del Gobierno; y le pido a la mayoría gubernamental, representada en esta Cámara por los partidos Acción Democrática y URD, que las críticas que voy a traer esta tarde no me las tomen como venidas de un personero de la oposición que va a atacar al Gobierno, sino me las tomen como emitidas por un hombre que ha estudiado varios años el problema; que ha escuchado a técnicos y compañeros nuestros, que con acuciosidad se han puesto a escudriñar las tácticas, las estrategias y las operaciones guerrilleras que adelantan el Partido Comunista y el M.I.R. en Venezuela.

Críticas ante la Acción Gubernamental Frente a la Guerra Sicológica

Quiero decirles que no conozco los planes del Gobierno frente a la guerra sicológica y aunque los conociera, quiero decirles que no hemos visto en el país la contraofensiva a la guerra sicológica que adelanta la insurrección comunista. No veo que estemos ganando la pelea en el campo sicológico; todo lo contrario. Las tensiones de la Policía, las exasperaciones de las gentes, el miedo a salir de noche, la prensa, con las noticias que transmite y la radio, contribuyen a que se mantenga dirigida por la insurrección comunista, la guerra sicológica. La Dirección General de Policía está llena de deficiencias. Senador Paz. Eso lo saben ustedes, y quiero decirse muy claro. El material humano con que cuenta es pobre, doctor Paz, Senadores de Acción Democrática y de URD. Y muchas veces no solamente es pobre el material humano, sino que a veces, hasta se llegan a recabar el servicio de hampones. Eso hay que cambiarlo. La Policía de Seguridad tiene hoy sobre sus hombros una gran responsabilidad con el país.

El Ministerio de la Defensa

Analicemos ahora la política del Gobierno a través del Ministerio de la Defensa. Creemos sinceramente que hay descoordinación entre la política del Gobierno y la que siguen las Fuerzas Armadas. Lo creo sinceramente. El militar está restreado en una guerrilla, pero yo preguntaría: ¿Siente ese militar restreado todo el respaldo político del Gobierno, en su actuación? Hago esa pregunta.

Cuando un grupo guerrillero ha estado a punto de liquidarse, opera el Partido Comunista, con todos sus medios de prensa, de publicidad, de amigos, y de todo, para hacer que

los planes del Ministerio se cambien y se rompa el empuje que lleva un determinado Comando para liquidar a determinada guerrilla. Tenemos que abrir los ojos ante todas esas fuerzas psicológicas y extrañas que operan concientemente, para evitar que se cambien los planes operativos de las Fuerzas Armadas.

La última compra de aviones —no sé si fueron setenta y cuatro aviones F-86-K que se compraron en Alemania Occidental— ¿está de acuerdo esa compra de aviones, Senadores de la mayoría, con la táctica sana y correcta antiguerrillera de las Fuerzas Armadas? ¿Por qué en vez de sacar esos millones para comprar aviones que no van a hacer nada, o muy poco, en una guerra antiguerrillera, no se compraron helicópteros modernos, lanchas torpederas y lanchas patrulleras? Lanchas de primera categoría como las que tiene el ejército moderno de los Estados Unidos, de Francia y de Inglaterra, que están artilladas modernamente, con artillería de ofensiva y artillería antiaérea, que tienen velocidad suficiente para patrullar en poco tiempo infinidad de kilómetros de costa. ¿No es lo que se necesita?

Señores, en las montañas de Lara sucedió un hecho que yo quiero relatar a la mayoría. Un Destacamento antiguerrillero de las Fuerzas Armadas quedó copado en una garganta de las montañas de Lara y, señores, entre los miembros del ejército que estaban entregando sus vidas, uno de los oficiales se estaba muriendo de sed, agonizando, porque no tenía quien le llevara un trago de agua; y compramos aviones Sabre, en vez de comprar helicópteros para ir a llevarle a esos hombres, que están entregando su vida, el poco de agua que pedían a la hora de su muerte. No estoy de acuerdo; convénzame de lo contrario, pero no creo que dentro de una táctica correcta contra las guerrillas, sea mejor comprar aviones que comprar helicópteros y que comprar lanchas patrulleras y torpederas.

Les voy a hacer una pregunta en este análisis de la política a través del Ministerio de la Defensa. ¿Qué pasó con el barco cubano que merodeó nuestras costas hace unos días? Decían las noticias de prensa lo siguiente. El 12 de noviembre: "Encallada una nave cubana en costas venezolanas", primera noticia. Segunda noticia: "Buque cubano al garete cerca de las islas de Aves. Se niegan a recibir ayuda y existe la sospecha de que vienen en misión del gobierno comunista de Castro". Noticia de prensa que sigue una categoría: "Unidades de la Armada Venezolana vigilan de cerca el buque cubano". Fíjense. Primero la noticia "Aparece un buque", "merodea", "encalla"; después: "Unidades salen a verlo". Tercera noticia: "Orden de requisar el buque cubano si entra en aguas venezolanas". "Sigue rechazando la ayuda que le han ofrecido". "Patrulleros de la Armada Venezolana siguen rastros del carguero cubano". "Atracó ayer en La Guaira, decía, el PO-6, para reabastecerse de agua y combustible, a fin de salir luego en ruta Norte". Siguen las noticias. "Desapareció el barco cubano". Y así termina la secuencia de las noticias. "Desapareció! Pero, ¿qué pasó? Yo quiero averiguar eso. ¿Qué pasó? Yo les voy a decir la verdad. Tenemos la información en la Comisión de Defensa. A las 10 de la mañana del día 12, recibió la Comandancia de la Marina la información de que estaba un buque cerca de las costas de Venezuela y que pedía auxilio. Entonces el Oficial de guardia de la Marina dio la orden de que el patrullero PO-4, que estaba anclado en La Guaira, saliera en dirección a las coordenadas que se le habían señalado para ubicar el barco y empezar el patrullaje y la inspección. Y al cabo de un rato recibió contraorden de la Comandancia de la Marina, informándole que dicha Comandancia asumía directamente la función de la inspección del barco; y se revocó la orden del Oficial de guardia. Pero, ¿a qué hora procedió la Comandancia de la Marina? En la tarde. Y apenas en la tarde fue que salieron a buscar el barco y. ¡Qué diantres! Con tantas horas de retraso desapareció el barco cubano; así lo dice la prensa.

Yo quisiera que se estudiara ese problema, porque, además se sugieren muchas cosas. Primero: ¿El barco venía o iba, hacia las costas venezolanas? eso no se ha averiguado, y eso hay que averiguarlo. Segundo: Tengo información, Senadores del Gobierno, de que el barco mercante de Cuba tenía las defensas de ataque levantadas, lo cual quiere decir que estaba haciendo un amadrinamiento con otra nave, o con lanchas. El barco con las defensas de ataque levantadas fue visto por un barco de los Estados Unidos, quien dio la información.

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monio de unos corazones que sienten la Patria.

En el aporte de este sentimiento, y con el espíritu de esta intervención, me permito traer una serie de conclusiones al Senado.

Primera.— Que hagamos una revisión general de la política antiguerrillera. En este sentido, que se invite aquellos partidos de la oposición que puedan aportar algo, para que analicemos todos si la política que se ha seguido es correcta, y si se prueba lo contrario, que se haga una revisión con humildad. Les propongo, en nombre del Partido Social Cristiano Copel, el estudio conjunto para hacer una revisión o para que ustedes nos expliquen tantas cosas, que a lo mejor no las sabemos.

Segundo.— Que el Alto Mando explique a) La última compra de los aviones en lugar de helicópteros y lanchas patrulleras; b) El no abordaje del barco cubano.

Tercera.— Que el Gobierno explique la política de indultos. A lo mejor la explicación la aceptamos; pero mientras tanto la creemos contraproducente, inoportuna, discriminatoria muchas veces; ¡Explíquennosla!

Cuarta.— Que se proceda a la selección, formación y entrenamiento de la Dirección General de la Policía. Una Policía con problemas tan graves que confronta, no debe de estar tan mediocremente equipada de material humano y técnico. Preocupémonos en el Parlamento por la estructuración de la Digepol; y les ruego a los Senadores de Acción Democrática, que le lleven al doctor Leandro Mora la inquietud del país, para que ese Cuerpo, en cuyos hombros se basa la seguridad del Estado, sea más idóneo, más serio y más responsable; y que lo reorganicen totalmente.

Quinta.— Iniciar una política de Seguro para los Policías y para los Militares.

Sexta.— Que se traigan misiones de adoctrinamiento pa-

ra la guerra antisubversiva. No debemos acogernos únicamente a la Escuela de Panamá, cuyos esquemas norteamericanos no han podido acabar con la guerra del Vietnam y vienen a enseñarnos a acabar con las guerrillas nuestras. Llamemos a técnicos de Francia, que conocen de la experiencia de Indochina y Argel, misiones estupendas que tienen experiencias. Llamémoslos sin que eso sea ofender a los Estados Unidos.

Séptima.— Establézcamos un Organismo de acción psicológica. ¿Dónde está ese Organismo del Gobierno para la acción psicológica? Eso es indispensable que lo hagamos.

Y para terminar, señores, les quiero decir lo siguiente: si el Gobierno no está convencido de lo que le está pasando, si el Gobierno no siente que algo grave le arremete en sus miembros, y si esa realidad lo sobrepasa, tendremos horas muy tristes y muy graves en el país; y la responsabilidad está en manos de quienes conducen el Gobierno; y que no digan mañana si llega la hecatombe, que no hubo nadie que los alertara. Aquí estamos nosotros para hablarles a este Gobierno, que es nuestro Gobierno de Venezuela. Aquí está la democracia funcionando, no la tradicional estructura de oposición y Gobierno, para matarse y destrozarse, sino la estructura dinámica y moderna de una democracia que concibe un ensamble entre oposición y Gobierno, para estructurar los grandes principios que definen la conformación de un pueblo y la conducción de un país. Le pido a Dios que nos ayude, que si mis palabras han sido exageradas o agoreras, que me dispensen, pero es la manera de actuar en mi vida, porque no tengo otra. Pero que si algo de mi discurso queda para recapacitar, que lo recojan y que nos sentemos a conversar en una hora en que el país reclama. Que nos unamos todos los que estamos defendiendo una misma causa trascendental en la vida.

Señores, los Gobiernos caen cuando no tienen conciencia de sus peligros, pero los Gobiernos se sostienen cuando oyen y escuchan la voz de su pueblo. Que yo sea en este instante la voz de mi pueblo, y si no lo soy, por lo menos que sea la voz sincera de un hombre que quiso hablarles con toda la buena fe y con toda el alma. Señores.